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STATISTICS and POLITICS

SECOND EDITION

**By
JOHN W. FARLEY**



**IT SEEMS TO ME THAT ALL DISCUSSIONS OF WAYS AND MEANS TO
PREVENT WAR, AND PLANS FOR COMBINED NATIONS MUST BE BASED ON
A UNION IN THOUGHT AND HEART OF THE ANGLO-SAXON PEOPLES**

General John J. Pershing, speech in London, July 17, 1919



COME IN, BROTHER; COME RIGHT IN!!"

Alley in Memphis Commercial Appeal, April 16, 1920

"MAKE THE SOUTH SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY"

—Complete Title

**PRICE
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STATISTICS and POLITICS

SECOND EDITION

**By
JOHN W. FARLEY, LL.B., LL.M., D.C.L.
Member of the Bar
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

**SAXLAND PUBLISHING COMPANY
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
1920**

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All correspondence should be addressed
"LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS
WASHINGTON, D. C."
OFFICE OF THE LIBRARIAN

**LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
WASHINGTON**

March 21 1919

Dear Sir:

The Librarian duly received your letter of March 12 concerning the names of authors who have written books with the title Statistics and politics, etc.

The Chief Bibliographer, to whom it was referred for attention, reports that it does not appear that there is another book with exactly the same title as that used by you; and he has been unable to locate any book or magazine article in the Library of Congress that treats of the Republican party and the negro in Tennessee in the statistical manner in which you have treated it.

Very truly,


Secretary

John W. Farley Esq.
Goodwyn Institute Building
Memphis Tennessee

Foreword to Second Edition

The favor with which the first edition of this publication was received, although a very limited edition, has encouraged the author to give further study to statistics in their relation to suffrage.

In this edition there is discussed questions relating to representation in Congress, in the Electoral College and in Conventions based on persons not citizens of the United States; reduction in representation in Republican National Conventions from the South in its relation to the South regardless of party, possible Republican success in the South being traded off for negro votes in Northern cities, and disfranchisement. These subjects were not discussed in the first edition.

Some additional tables from the 1910, United States Census reports have been added. There is

an appendix in which reference is made by authorities to "The South Today," "The Achievements of the Old South," "Anglo-Saxon Supremacy," "Origin of the Saxons" and "The Negro at Home."

The importance of the questions discussed in the first edition appear to have greatly interested the readers.

The author earnestly urges the readers of this edition to give him the benefit of their criticisms and suggestions, whether such be favorable or adverse; and, if any publication makes reference to this publication that a copy of such reference be sent to him.

THE AUTHOR.

February 12, 1920.

Foreword to First Edition

It is hoped that the presentation of the facts herein reviewed will, in a measure, be as interesting and instructive to the thoughtful reader as the analysis of this information has been to the author. This is the reason offered for presenting this publication.

As it appears that woman suffrage by amendment to the Federal Constitution will soon be in effect throughout the nation, problems affecting suffrage are extremely vital.

At the close of the Great War when a nation is being fused in the crucible it is time to remember and be guided by the motto inscribed on the ancient Grecian temple, "Know Thyself."

Present political expediency so often guides a people into wrong channels that it is well that times come in the life of a nation that make it possible to take a census, check up, and see what are the political tendencies in order that errors may be corrected and new policies formulated.

It is believed that in the following pages will be found information that will impress those who realize that a responsibility rests on those who know what are the tendencies of a people. It is hoped that this information will aid in guiding them to correct actions that will preserve and strengthen Anglo-Saxon liberty and American institutions.

Not from personal politics, but out of free discussion of political principles and intelligent action thereon comes good government under Anglo-Saxon institutions. One of the fundamentals for securing this result is two responsible political parties.

The greatest need of the South today to quicken its dynamic pulse to aid in securing economic freedom is a strong and virile party of opposition standing for high principles of government. Factional groups and personal loyalty to mediocre men who strut across the stage of time retard its development. Development of the South will strengthen the nation.

If this publication aids such a movement in only a small way the author will feel a sense of gratification.

With the exception of three years spent in Washington, during a part of which time he did some statistical work in the Bureau of Corporations, the author has spent all of his life in Middle and Western Tennessee, where his people have lived since Tennessee was cut out of the woods.

The author was supervisor of the Federal Census for the Tenth Congressional (Memphis) District in 1910; attended the Republican National Convention in 1912; was alternate delegate to the Republican National Convention and Republican Candidate for Congress for this district in 1916; and has been a delegate to and attended all Republican State Conventions in Tennessee for more than ten years.

Upon the analyses and conclusions here presented the author would very much appreciate criticism, whether such be favorable or adverse.

JOHN W. FARLEY.

Memphis, Tennessee
February 22, 1919.

Comments on Statistics and Politics

"Your book is not only interesting but it is a valuable contribution to the thought of the day."
—A Prominent East Tennessee Republican.*

"It furnishes food for the serious thought of all patriotic Americans and a data not available to the average citizen."—A San Francisco Lawyer.

"I have read it with great interest and shall read it again and often. You certainly gave to this publication a stupendous amount of work for the information of many who will not appreciate your contribution until they have had occasion for use of it in a practical way."—A Member of the Republican National Committee.

"It is full of information of a kind that should be generally known in Tennessee. I also find that you draw your own conclusions from the facts stated and that you do it in a logical manner. You have enough in the pamphlet to keep a person reading and thinking for some time."—A Prominent Middle Tennessee Republican.

"I have enjoyed your views on the mistakes of the Republican Party dealing with the Southern negro vote. I am satisfied you are right in holding that the Southern negro has been a liability rather than an asset as far as the Party is concerned."—A Middle West Republican, Prominent in the Contests in the National Convention of 1912.

"It is my opinion that much good would result if the information contained in 'Statistics and Politics' were called to the attention of Party Leaders. I hope and believe that much good will result from the great amount of work which you have evidently given to this subject."—A Western Member of Congress.

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"The statistical information is presented in such a practical manner as to be easily understood. Without special information on the subject, these figures could not have been so intelligently arranged and without them the information conveyed therein is practically inaccessible to the average man."—An Ex-Mayor of Memphis.

"Your discussion of the relation of the negro in the South to Politics is the best that has been brought to my attention. It should be brought more freely before the public."—An Oklahoma Lawyer.

"I wish to express to you my most hearty appreciation and agreement of your position in regard to the negro in the Republican Party."—A Prominent Memphis Business Man Born in New York.

"I have been urging action looking to some definite policy on the part of the Republican Party that will meet conditions in the South; and I am very glad to know that others are working along similar lines."—A Member of the Republican National Committee.

"Certainly it would be a great thing for the country at large and the white people of the North in particular, to read and digest the facts that you have prepared. The Republican National Committee would do well to cause a generous distribution of your booklet throughout the North."—A New England Financier.

*For obvious reasons the names of the writers of these letters addressed to the author are withheld.

The San Francisco Chronicle

Editorial, August 24, 1919.

THE STRAIN ON THE MELTING POT

Alien Mixtures Said to be Changing the Characteristics of the American People

John W. Farley, doctor of civil law, member of the bar of Memphis, Tennessee, stalwart Republican in politics, and, apparently, opposed to negro suffrage, has written and published a pamphlet of twenty-eight pages,* representing an immense amount of hard study, which it would be well for all thoughtful Americans to obtain from Mr. Farley, read and ponder. A ruling of our Government of the people for the people and by the people makes it impossible for us to mention the price except at great pecuniary loss to ourselves. We do not dare even to say that it is more than 99 cents and less than 101 cents, and therefore, do not say it. Mr. Farley will tell you if you write to him. It is sufficient to say that it is exceedingly high if one considers only the number of printed pages and exceedingly cheap if one considers what is printed on the pages. We may say, however, that the booklet could have no value whatever except to one who has the apparatus for thinking and the habit of making use of it.

The purpose of Mr. Farley seems to be to demonstrate that the hope of the Republican party is in the solid South, for the reason that only there are to be found in preponderating numbers the elements of population which are normally in sympathy with the traditional ideals of the Republican party and who do not vote with that party, or, as a rule vote at all, because of the habit of Republican national leaders to consider only the colored vote and send to Republican national conventions packed delegations of colored men. Mr. Farley also states that the negroes who constitute the bulk of the colored population are highly respected at the South and encouraged in all ways to improve their economic conditions and that they care nothing whatever about voting and are perfectly content to let the white men run the government. That is not true of the mulattoes. The white blood in them imparts a certain enterprize which occasionally produces a Booker Washington, but more often a low class of politician. Miscegenation, according to Mr. Farley, has very nearly ceased, the mulattoes are not reproducing their own number and are tending to disappear or to be reabsorbed into the negroes.

As a political study, Mr. Farley's pamphlet is of much political interest, but the figures and diagrams which he has assembled from the census tables are of broader and profound interest as showing how the character of our population has been changed by the infusion of alien blood with racial characteristics wholly different from those of the original European settlers. Fully recognizing the arbitrary and often misleading character of the classification he adopts for lack of any other workable division, native whites of native parentage as preponderatingly representative of what are vaguely called "American ideals," he shows their distribution by groups of states in 1910 as follows:

Per Cent. of Total Population Native Whites of

	Native Parentage	Foreign Born
New England States.....	40.3	28.0
Middle Atlantic.....	44.8	25.6
East North Central.....	54.4	17.1
West North Central.....	57.5	14.2
South Atlantic.....	91.0	3.6
East South Central.....	94.8	1.5
West South Central.....	84.4	5.2
Mountain	54.1	17.3
Pacific	50.8	21.4

By states the two lowest in native born of native parents are Minnesota and North Dakota, with 27.9 per cent. and 28.5 per cent., respectively, and the two highest North Carolina and Georgia, with 99.0 per cent. and 97.2 per cent., respectively. California has 49.0 per cent. Of actual foreign born North Dakota leads with 36.1 per cent., followed by Minnesota with 29.1 per cent. California has 22.6 per cent. North Dakota and Minnesota, however, if so largely foreign born, are at least comparatively homogeneous and rather hard-headed. The really tough messes are in New England and in the manufacturing and mining centers of the North Atlantic and Central States, where there is a conglomeration of all sorts of races, mostly utterly diverse in feeling and tendencies from anything which can be called American.

Considering the character of most of our recent immigration it is perhaps worth considering what its effect has been on some recent tendencies in this country.

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*The first edition was 28 pages, and price \$1.00.

"I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes or bear arms, by no means excluding females."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Statement, New Salem, Illinois, June 13, 1836

"I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races—that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of the negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Speech at Charleston, Illinois
September 18th, 1858

STATISTICS AND POLITICS

SHERMAN said: "War is Hell." He also said: "I believe the whole idea of giving votes to the negroes is to create just that many votes to be used by others for political uses." Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, said: "I should not at all be opposed to a proper system of restricted or limited suffrage to the negroes." With reference to negro suffrage, Lincoln said: "I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent, and those who serve our Cause as soldiers." These were the views on negro suffrage at the close of the Civil War of leaders whose loyalty to the Cause they represented is unquestioned.

Thaddeus Stevens, a Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and other leaders insisted on negro suffrage without qualification. To the white men of the South they said: "You are worthless or worse, we will never help you nor be helped by you." Lincoln was assassinated. The intelligent whites of the South were disfranchised. The right of suffrage was given to ignorant negroes.

By human law an attempt was made to create within the negro the capacity for self government. That failed, but misguided legislation created the most artificial political condition in history. A race of people that through all the ages that had never evolved a government, in even a quasi-civilized sense, was given the right to rule. The Dragon's teeth were sown.

Reconstruction followed. The inherent genius and leadership of the Anglo-Saxon to rule was asserted and expressed itself in the Invisible Empire, known as the Ku Klux Klan, and the resourceful Anglo-Saxon soon regained control of the state governments of the South.

In 1912 and 1916, the Dragon's teeth sown fifty years ago, under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner and others, came up. When Woodrow Wilson, a native of Virginia, was inaugurated President in 1912, the harvest of reconstruction for the Republican party throughout the nation was begun. Champ Clark of Missouri, a native of Kentucky, was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Chief Justice White of Louisiana, presided over the Supreme Court.

The Anglo-American, who fifty years ago had been told "we will never help nor be helped by you," assumed direction of the National Government in the executive, legislative and judicial departments. In 1916, a majority of the people

of the several States of the Nation expressed their approval of this administration. The Government of the Nation was again dominated by a people who, less than fifty years ago, was largely governed by negroes, and who were also disfranchised—not in accordance with the ideas of Lincoln, but in accordance with a spirit of hate developed under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner and others.

I.

USED TO CONTROL AND AID BOTH PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

In 1867, negroes, who less than four years before had been freed, cast their first ballots. Fifty years have elapsed since the negro was enfranchised, and the race they once ruled in part is now not only in control of the State Governments from which it was then practically excluded, but also dominates the Nation and exercises an influence over world politics.

This being true, it is pertinent to inquire what are some of the political tendencies of the Anglo-Americans; and, what is the tendency of the influence of the Africo-Americans as disclosed by the half century that has elapsed since the negro was, without his request, given the right to vote. What are these tendencies as disclosed by the latest compiled statistics?

Such an inquiry is pertinent and interesting as woman suffrage will doubtless soon prevail throughout the Nation.

Under an act of the Tennessee legislature in 1919, women were given Presidential and municipal suffrage. Tennessee is the first Southern State to enfranchise women.

The maintenance of a solid South that resulted from reconstruction was of advantage to both Democratic and Republican parties. The Democrats were assured of a substantial representation in Congress. Those who dominated the organization that dictated the policies of the Republican party were assured of easily controlled delegates that made them supreme in the National Republican Conventions. "Just that many votes to be used by others for political uses," as Sherman said, were available in the solid Democratic South to control the Republican organization. For the Democrats it was made easy to maintain party solidarity by raising only the race issue. It was not necessary to advance or discuss economic or other issues when victory was made easy by appealing to prejudice and passion.

When Taft was nominated in 1908, the Republican organization had, by evolution, ceased to be

called a machine but was, by a Tennessean, christened a steam roller. When the National Republican Convention assembled in 1912, sixty-seven negro delegates were among the delegates from the South. A majority of these delegates constituted a nucleus of the strength of the organization that then dominated, as in the past, the organization of the Convention. These negro delegates were an asset both to the Republican organization and to the Democratic party. They were easily "used" to control the organization of the Republican Convention, and "used" to aid the Democrats in continuing the South solid.

They were used in this convention to thwart the will of a majority of the Republicans throughout the Nation. After the will of a majority of the Republicans had been defeated, and the party defeated at the polls, the National Republican Committee met and reduced the representation in future Republican Conventions. The negroes furnish no electoral votes and retard the growth of the party, but insist on "Recognition."

CAMPAIGN METHODS THAT RE-ACT

When the National Republican Convention met in 1916, there were only 25 negro delegates in the Convention, the smallest number present since they were first given full "Recognition." Hughes was nominated by acquiescence and the campaign begun. In order to give "Recognition" to the negroes, as had been done for over thirty years, special negro campaign literature was issued by the National Republican Committee.

Some of those who directed the campaign had not learned anything, nor had they forgotten anything about the negro in thirty years.

They had not learned that it is political "Recognition" that a few negroes want and that the mass of negroes are largely indifferent to voting. They had not forgotten that under Reconstruction the negro was a political factor. They had not learned that the days of Reconstruction, like the issues of the Civil War, have passed forever.

They had not learned that potential negro votes are not actual negro votes, nor had they learned that both may be liabilities to those who seek them.

They had not learned that the attitude of the Republican party toward the negro is a liability to it; and that its attitude toward the negro is a great asset to the Democratic party.

It seemed never to have occurred to them that, according to the Federal Census of 1910, more than a million white people born in the South are now living in the North, and that this number is increasing every year; that there were thousands and thousands of people in the North, born in

Europe, to whom this kind of campaign literature was offensive.

The negro must needs be given "Recognition" because he is a voter, and be given additional "Recognition" because he is a negro.

They still insist on measuring men and events in this country under the standard that existed thirty years ago. This Bourbon spirit of domination wrecked the Republican Convention in 1912 and brought the Republican party to the verge of bankruptcy. In the very hour of victory it was one of the causes that snatched control of the Federal Government from the Republican party in 1916.

POTENTIAL VOTERS AND MIGRATIONS

To secure how many votes in a presidential election are special pleadings made for the negro?

According to the Federal Census of 1910, there was a total of 22,074 negro males of voting age in the six New England states, of which 12,591 were in Massachusetts. The number of negro males of voting age in the other Northern and Western states, having more than 5,000 potential negro voters, was as follows: New York, 45,887; New Jersey, 28,601; Pennsylvania, 64,272; Ohio, 39,188; Indiana, 20,651; Illinois, 39,983; Michigan, 6,266; Iowa, 5,443; and Kansas, 17,558. There were 9,050 in Delaware and 8,143 in California. Excluding those in New England and Pennsylvania, where in the past the result has never been in doubt, there was a total of 220,770 negro males of voting age, for which a special plea was made in the states named where the results have been doubtful.

The party could not have any hope for electoral votes in the South; for, although it has perpetuated the policies of Thaddeus Stevens in the name of Lincoln, the days of reconstruction in the South, when the negro votes really decided elections, are as dead as is Thaddeus Stevens.

In conducting this part of the campaign, it never seems to have occurred to those who directed it that there are persons from the South in all the States who might be induced to vote the Republican ticket, and thereby reduce the Democratic vote, but who are, by the methods employed, kept in the Democratic party.

The Republicans do for the Democratic party, in many parts of the Nation what, if left alone, it could not do for itself. They keep alive issues that help to keep the Southern vote, whether in the South, in the North or in the West, a cohesive asset for the Democratic party.

Political strength unquestionably migrates. This is doubtless one of the contributing causes for New Hampshire casting its electoral vote for Wilson in 1916. The native white persons of

native parentage in New England constitute the basis of the Republican strength. According to the Federal Census of 1910, New Hampshire showed a decrease in its native whites of native parentage population of 5.1 per cent. It was the only State to show this and the first State in which this has happened since the Government was established.

The Federal Census designates all white persons having both parents born in the United States native whites of native parents.

In 1910, there were 138,337 white people living in Ohio, and 92,550 living in California, who were born in the South; both States cast their electoral vote for Wilson in 1916. Is it too much to say that the Southern vote that had migrated elected Wilson in 1916?

An examination of the map of the United States discloses that Tennessee is the Connective State of the Nation. Its boundaries touch the boundaries of eight States. While Missouri touches the same number, more of the boundaries of Tennessee touch more of the boundaries of more states than does any other state. It is touched by the boundaries of Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Missouri. While the boundaries of South Carolina do not touch Tennessee, this state is so near it may be more properly placed in the Tennessee geographic group than Missouri.

Excepting Missouri with 76.2 per cent., and Kentucky with 91.9 per cent., according to the Census of 1910, the white population of all of these States was more than 95 per cent. native white of native parentage.

In North Carolina, 99 per cent. of the white population was of native parentage. Tennessee, with the exception of 34,780 whites foreign born and of foreign and mixed parentage in the four principal cities (18,605 of which lived in Memphis) was just as pure as North Carolina.

More than half a million white people who were born in Tennessee were living in other States in 1910. Of this number of native white Tennesseans 32,883 were living in the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, while 23,857 negroes born in Tennessee were living in these three States. There were 13,447 native whites and 984 negroes born in Tennessee living in California.

In 1910 the total number of persons born in the South, living in the North was 1,525,778, of which 1,110,245 were white and 415,533 were negroes; and the number living in the West was 403,380, of which 378,379 were white and 25,001 were negroes.

The number of negroes living in the North who were born there was 570,298; these with 415,533 born in the South and 2,159 born in the West, and 11,325, the state of birth not reported, made

a total of 999,451 negroes in the North in 1910; 26.6 per cent. of these were mulattoes.

The total number of persons born in the North living in the South was 1,446,339, of which 1,407,262 were white and 39,077 were negroes.

There were more than twice as many whites living in the South born in the North, than there were negroes living in the North who were born in the South, in 1910.

There were also more than twice as many whites born in the South, who had migrated to the North than there were negroes born in the South who had migrated to the North.

There were more Southern born whites living in the North than the total negro population of the North in 1910.

During the last fifty years more than six million native whites have moved from the South to other parts of the country.

Unquestionably the Southern-born whites are more migratory than the negroes.

From this it will be readily seen, to make a special plea for the negro vote, wherever he resides, is a liability to the Republican party. The formula that for every negro vote the Republican party gets the Democratic party will get not less than two Southern votes is just as true in the North and West as it is in the South.

EXAGGERATED IMPORTANCE

There is a general impression that a large percentage of the Republican vote in the South is cast by negroes. Democrats and negroes foster this idea for their political advantage.

One of the principal features of political news in Democratic newspapers during presidential campaigns is to write about negro delegates to Republican National Conventions. This is worth more to the Democratic Party in influencing the Southern voters wherever they live than several barrels of campaign funds are worth in influencing votes for either party. They afford the material for the cartoonist, as well as most desirable copy for highly colored and exaggerated articles that will solidify the Southern white vote, regardless of all political or economic questions concerning the general welfare of the Nation.

The negroes who want "Recognition" thrive on it. Booker Washington said: "A negro understands a Southern white man and a Southern white man understands a negro better than any two people in the world." The Southern white man will let the negro work him for practically everything except politics, and the Northern white man will not let a negro work him for anything except politics. And the negro has worked the Republican party to a fare-you-well.

The power of exaggeration stands the negro in good stead and he knows the advantages of a press agent. As the National Campaigns approach negro copy writers get busy for their leading papers. When the articles are in type, marked copies are sent to those whom they desire to impress, and from whom they expect to receive "Recognition" as well as shekels.

His political activity is looked on with pleasure and not infrequently he is aided in his endeavors by Democrats, because they know it aids the Democratic Party to keep the Southern born whites in line wherever they live.

II.

NEGRO POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN TENNESSEE

The following quotations from leading negro newspapers at the beginning of the Campaign in 1916, on the situation in Tennessee are typical:

The Washington, D. C., Eagle, on February 26, 1916, stated:

"There are about 125,000 negro voters in Tennessee, and it goes without saying that 99.5 per cent. of them are Republicans. In 1914, Rye, Democrat, received 136,816 votes for Governor and Hooper, Republican, received 115,821 votes. From these figures it doesn't take exactly a Solomon to tell or judge about the size of the Republican white vote."

The Louisville, Ky., News on March 4, 1916, stated:

"The negro vote comprises about 85 per cent. of the Republicans in Tennessee."

The Nashville, Tenn., Globe, on February 25, 1916, stated:

"What fate awaits the Republican Party without the negro? What would be the status in Tennessee, without the aid of the black man? The answer is not far to seek; excepting East Tennessee, they could muster scarcely five thousand votes."

FACTS AND FIGURES

An analysis of the vote of Tennessee has been made for the years 1908, 1912 and 1916, with the view of ascertaining "What fate awaits the Republican Party without the negro?" "What would be the status in Tennessee without the aid of the black man?"—to the Democratic or "aid" to the Republican Party.

The statistics used in this analysis are based on the official vote in Tennessee, and on the report made by the United States Census Bureau for the Census of 1910.

The vote in Tennessee is here analyzed and comparisons made because it is the central State of the South and it presents a typical Anglo-American group of Southern people living under similar conditions as in other States.

While this analysis is somewhat in detail, the results are enlightening because what is true in Tennessee is true in other States of the South.

Before examining these statistics relative to those of voting age, it is well to state that the qualifications for voting in Tennessee are not stringent. No property qualification is required. All male citizens of the United States, who have been residents of Tennessee for one year and of the county for six months; have paid a two dollar poll tax 30 days before and have registered 20 days before the date of election, are eligible to vote.

In many rural precincts registration is not required, and there a small "open" ballot is used. In the larger communities, the Australian ballot is used. The names of all candidates appear on the ballot. The candidates are voted for by the voter making a cross mark on the ballot after the names of the candidates that are his choice.

Presidential and municipal suffrage was conferred on women by act of the Tennessee legislature in 1919. The State constitution limits suffrage for state officers to males.

In 1910, the total population of Tennessee was 2,184,789, of which 1,711,432 were white, 473,088 negroes and 269 Indians, Japanese and Chinese. Of the negroes 354,391 were black and 118,697 mulattoes.

There were 552,668 males of voting age in Tennessee in 1910, of which 433,526 were white and 119,142 negroes. The term "potential" voters is used to designate males of voting age. There are 96 counties in Tennessee.

The residence of these potential voters was as follows:

In the 51 counties composing the first, second, third and fourth Congressional districts, which comprise East Tennessee, there was a total of 234,462 potential voters, of which 208,616 were whites and 25,846 were negroes. The Fourth District lies partly in Middle Tennessee, but as only 10.5 per cent. of the population were negroes it is here included with East Tennessee.

In the 23 counties composing the fifth, sixth and seventh Congressional districts, which comprise Middle Tennessee, there was a total of 144,998 potential voters, of which 109,795 were whites and 35,203 were negroes.

In the 22 counties composing the eighth, ninth and tenth Congressional districts, which comprise West Tennessee, there was a total of 173,208 potential voters, of which 115,115 were whites and 58,093 were negroes.

Of the 25,846 negroes of voting age who lived in East Tennessee, 7,812 lived in Hamilton County of which Chattanooga is the county seat.

From the foregoing, it will be seen that more than three-fourths of the negroes of voting age lived in the 45 counties that comprise the six Congressional districts in Middle and West Tennessee.

In these six Congressional districts there are nine counties, viz.: Davidson, in the 6th; Madison, in the 8th; Lake, Lauderdale and Haywood in the 9th; and Fayette, Hardeman, Tipton and Shelby in the 10th district, in which resided 144,039 males of voting age, of which 83,986 were white and 60,053 were negroes. That is, 60,053 of the 119,142 negroes of voting age in the State, a little more than 50 per cent. of all the potential negro votes in the State in 1910, resided in these nine counties.

One-fourth of the total population of the state resided in these nine counties. The population of these nine counties and the number of potential voters therein was practically the same as for the three Congressional districts that comprise Middle Tennessee.

Nashville and Memphis are the respective county seats of Davidson and Shelby counties. In these nine counties the average Republican vote (the Progressive vote being included with the Republican for 1912) for President in the three elections in 1908, 1912 and 1916 was only 10,138. In Middle Tennessee the average Republican Presidential vote was 23,000. In each of these nine counties over 36 per cent. of those of voting age were negroes, except Davidson, and it had 30.4 per cent. negroes.

In these nine counties, viz., Davidson, Madison, Lake, Lauderdale, Haywood, Fayette, Hardeman, Tipton and Shelby, there resided 60,053 of the 119,142 negro males of voting age in the state—more than 50 per cent. of the total potential negro votes in the state; and, although there were also 83,986 whites of voting age in these nine counties, the total potential vote being 144,039, the Republican vote for President in 1908, 1912 and 1916 was only about 10,000 in each year.

In 1910, the potential vote in Tipton County, one of the counties in the tenth Congressional District in Tennessee, was 7,061 of which 3,992 were whites and 3,069 negroes—43.5 per cent. negroes. For many years prior to 1916 the Republican leadership in this county was white. In 1916, the leadership passed entirely to negroes. In this county in 1908 the Republican vote for President was 1,041; in 1912 the combined vote for Taft and Roosevelt was 733; while under exclusive negro leadership in 1916 the vote for Hughes was only 299. Covington, the county seat of Tipton county, is 30 miles from Memphis.

There are only fifteen counties in the State that had more than 2,000 negroes of voting age. These fifteen counties (with county seats shown) include the nine above named, except Lake, and also include the following counties, viz.: Knox, (Knoxville), Hamilton (Chattanooga), Rutherford (Murfreesboro), Montgomery (Clarksville),

Giles (Pulaski), Maury (Columbia) and Gibson (Trenton).

These fifteen counties had 84,436 negroes of voting age, and 152,646 white, a total of 237,082. The 84,436 negroes of voting age in these fifteen counties constituted 70.8 per cent. of the total number of negroes of voting age in the State.

There were only 25 counties in the State having more than 1,000 negroes of voting age. In these 25 counties there resided 98,090 negroes, and 203,980 whites of voting age. This number was 82.3 per cent. of the total potential negro voters in the State.

From the foregoing it will be seen that there were 25 counties in the State that had more than 1,000 potential negro voters; of these, 15 had more than 2,000 potential negro voters.

It will also be observed that in 9 counties there then resided 60,053 of the negroes of voting age—over 50 per cent.—in the State; that 70.8 per cent. of those of voting age resided in these 15 counties and 82.3 per cent. resided in 25 of the counties.

The Republicans did not carry but 2 counties—Knox in East Tennessee and Carroll in West Tennessee—of the 25 counties in which 98,090 negroes of voting age resided, 82.3 per cent. in the State, although there were 203,980 whites of voting age in these counties. Three of these 25 counties are in East Tennessee, eight in Middle Tennessee, and twelve in West Tennessee.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS GIVE PROPER PERSPECTIVE

An analysis of the vote in the six Congressional Districts comprising Middle and West Tennessee, where 93,296, or 78.3 per cent. of the 119,142 negroes and 318,206 whites of voting age resided, shows that in practically every district the larger the percentage of negroes in any county, the larger the percentage of the vote cast was Democratic, and the larger the percentage of whites in any county, the larger the percentage of the vote cast was Republican. These percentages are based on the actual vote of 1908. At this election the normal vote of both parties was polled, and there was very little negro political activity. There was more negro political activity in 1916 than in twenty years. This will be discussed later.

In the Fifth Congressional District, Rutherford (Murfreesboro) County had the largest per cent., 31.5 per cent. of potential negro voters in the District, and gave the largest per cent., 69.1 per cent. of its vote to the Democrats, while DeKalb County, having the smallest per cent. of negroes in the District, was the only county in the District that gave a Republican majority.

Potential Voters in Tennessee by Counties and Congressional Districts: Census 1910, and Presidential Vote 1908, 1912 and 1916.

COUNTIES	Total No. of Males of Voting Age in 1910	Total White Males of Voting Age in 1910	Total Negro Males of Voting Age in 1910	Percentage of Negroes of Total Males	Taft, 1908	Taft and Roosevelt Combined, 1912	Hughes, 1916	Bryan, 1908	Wilson, 1912	Wilson, 1916
FIRST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 241,853										
Carter	4,438	4,285	153	3.4	3,152	3,169	2,961	454	478	498
Clairborne	5,393	5,161	232	4.3	1,637	1,687	1,398	971	903	1,053
Cocke	4,267	4,034	233	5.5	1,749	1,306	1,504	688	597	595
Grainger	3,284	3,181	103	3.1	1,309	1,641	1,329	673	841	843
Greene	7,286	6,936	350	4.8	2,027	2,892	3,059	1,886	2,076	2,255
Hancock	2,272	2,181	91	4.0	1,366	1,495	1,229	370	427	387
Hawkins	5,389	4,939	450	8.4	1,693	1,488	1,755	1,152	1,026	1,147
Johnson	2,823	2,745	78	2.8	2,148	1,958	1,802	232	256	263
Sevier	4,634	4,550	84	1.8	3,130	3,377	2,859	291	341	302
Sullivan	6,815	6,414	401	5.9	1,836	1,803	1,770	2,393	2,413	2,602
Unicoi	1,679	1,620	59	3.5	860	1,045	961	67	170	226
Washington	8,644	8,012	632	7.3	2,254	2,726	2,744	1,574	1,581	1,831
	56,924	54,058	2,866	5.0	23,191	24,577	23,391	10,751	11,059	12,002
SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 252,338										
Anderson	4,100	3,831	269	6.6	2,022	1,687	1,733	632	597	540
Blount	4,877	4,580	297	6.1	2,568	2,280	2,462	847	836	1,017
Campbell	6,514	5,873	641	9.8	1,806	1,495	1,691	530	551	485
Hamblen	3,414	3,047	367	10.7	991	752	795	795	722	741
Jefferson	4,210	3,828	382	9.1	1,962	1,480	1,689	662	514	520
*Knox	24,801	21,242	3,559	14.4	5,817	5,800	5,836	4,090	4,069	4,214
Loudon	3,189	2,967	222	7.0	986	670	710	444	415	424
Roane	5,400	4,788	612	11.3	1,524	1,308	1,395	595	570	669
Scott	2,789	2,727	62	2.2	1,932	1,357	1,486	190	160	206
Union	2,547	2,542	5	0.2	1,684	1,499	1,490	496	404	389
	61,841	55,425	6,416	9.4	21,292	18,328	19,287	9,281	8,838	9,205
THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 265,724										
Bledsoe	1,517	1,427	90	5.9	425	780	681	295	464	423
Bradley	3,845	3,457	388	10.1	1,063	1,033	1,482	620	645	795
Franklin	4,990	4,251	739	14.8	716	534	711	2,168	2,092	2,469
Grundy	1,830	1,791	39	2.1	261	209	319	576	529	736
*Hamilton	25,381	17,569	7,812	30.8	4,250	3,933	4,709	4,564	4,386	5,840
James	1,282	1,145	137	10.7	608	577	606	217	202	230
Marion	4,785	4,078	707	14.8	1,074	895	1,432	842	809	1,165
McMinn	4,900	4,461	439	9.0	1,320	1,182	1,526	926	907	1,090
Melgs	1,383	1,274	109	7.9	457	500	608	464	517	541
Monroe	4,873	4,627	246	5.0	1,827	1,196	1,470	1,406	1,136	1,263
Polk	3,584	3,497	87	2.4	1,175	1,155	892	747	867	767
Sequatchie	974	932	42	4.3	249	222	238	394	354	335
Van Buren	642	630	12	1.9	176	136	151	329	225	405
Warren	4,181	3,717	464	11.1	729	589	632	1,573	1,745	1,857
White	3,629	3,400	229	6.3	835	609	590	1,572	1,222	1,407
	67,796	56,256	11,540	17.0	15,165	13,550	16,047	16,693	16,100	19,323
FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 198,646										
Clay	2,021	1,957	64	3.2	634	523	578	764	718	689
Cumberland	2,187	2,174	13	0.6	1,010	806	924	479	489	429
Fentress	1,667	1,632	35	2.1	894	761	925	332	399	348
Jackson	3,282	3,217	65	2.0	966	994	740	1,404	1,344	1,506
Macon	3,456	3,295	161	4.7	1,594	1,434	1,600	684	787	980
Morgan	3,151	2,636	515	16.3	1,236	1,153	1,265	496	466	563
Overton	3,654	3,575	79	2.2	1,008	924	1,030	1,401	1,531	1,512
Pickett	1,146	1,143	3	0.3	517	489	501	391	411	418
Putnam	4,535	4,332	203	4.5	1,419	1,308	1,383	1,632	1,867	2,307
Rhea	3,616	3,285	331	9.2	995	805	768	883	692	661
Smith	4,468	3,968	500	11.2	1,056	1,099	941	1,638	1,863	2,196
Sumner	6,581	5,369	1,212	18.4	673	858	612	2,343	2,477	2,488
Trousdale	1,451	1,070	381	26.3	198	746	217	476	544	688
Wilson	6,686	5,224	1,462	21.9	902	974	841	2,212	2,325	2,535
	47,901	42,877	5,024	10.5	13,102	12,374	12,323	15,135	15,913	17,200

* One of 15 counties having more than 2,000 negro males of voting age—70.8 of all the negroes in Tennessee lived in these 15 counties in 1910.

Potential Voters in Tennessee by Counties and Congressional Districts: Census 1910 and Presidential Vote 1908, 1912 and 1916.

COUNTIES	Total No. of Males of Voting Age in 1910	Total White Males of Voting Age in 1910	Total Negro Males of Voting Age in 1910	Percentage of Negroes of Total Males	Taft, 1908	Taft and Roosevelt Combined, 1912	Hughes, 1916	Bryan, 1908	Wilson, 1912	Wilson, 1916
FIFTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 145,330										
Bedford	5,813	4,503	1,310	22.5	1,446	1,570	1,327	1,996	2,305	2,578
Cannon	2,634	2,490	144	5.5	672	679	456	904	1,184	936
Coffee	3,887	3,528	359	9.2	656	584	494	1,654	1,705	1,840
Dekalb	3,642	3,448	194	5.3	1,464	1,484	1,343	1,284	1,394	1,407
Lincoln	6,293	5,103	1,190	18.9	692	770	552	2,311	2,651	2,791
Marshall	4,422	3,686	736	16.6	440	463	462	1,544	1,551	1,653
Moore	1,209	1,125	84	6.9	103	127	72	677	694	722
*Rutherford	8,084	5,536	2,548	31.5	1,226	1,497	1,116	2,764	3,406	2,941
	35,984	29,419	6,565	18.3	6,699	7,174	5,822	13,134	14,890	14,868
SIXTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 234,016										
Cheatham	2,604	2,253	351	13.5	526	440	439	1,206	1,096	1,117
*Davidson	41,707	29,041	12,666	30.4	2,721	2,758	3,168	8,309	9,517	8,958
*Montgomery	8,211	5,144	3,067	37.4	1,903	713	1,015	2,961	1,638	1,981
Robertson	6,645	5,047	1,598	24.0	155	655	733	2,418	2,287	2,107
Stewart	3,448	3,058	390	11.3	715	539	591	1,475	1,512	1,712
	62,615	44,543	18,072	28.9	6,620	5,105	5,946	16,369	16,050	15,875
SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 189,576										
Dickson	4,702	4,015	687	14.6	899	738	1,008	1,499	1,689	2,105
*Giles	7,837	5,524	2,313	29.5	1,571	2,015	1,488	3,051	3,081	3,209
Hickman	3,842	3,291	551	14.3	1,285	980	1,026	1,065	1,288	1,479
Houston	1,545	1,335	210	13.6	665	237	207	288	586	627
Humphreys	3,299	3,027	272	8.2	679	532	452	1,301	1,283	1,148
Lawrence	4,219	3,993	226	5.4	1,725	1,660	1,837	1,591	1,504	1,770
Lewis	1,481	1,213	268	18.1	354	270	414	465	370	387
*Maury	10,703	6,616	4,087	38.2	620	1,004	720	2,324	2,309	2,169
Wayne	2,804	2,599	205	7.3	1,411	1,361	1,626	451	435	517
Williamson	5,967	4,220	1,747	29.3	605	858	608	1,928	2,205	2,036
	46,399	35,833	10,566	22.8	9,814	9,655	9,385	13,963	14,750	15,547
EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 180,119										
Benton	2,967	2,887	80	2.7	860	941	805	1,221	1,095	1,313
Carroll	5,929	4,815	1,114	18.8	2,290	2,329	2,222	1,802	1,653	2,005
Chester	2,148	1,821	327	15.2	577	696	646	703	636	864
Decatur	2,343	2,112	231	9.9	958	896	893	845	758	887
Hardin	4,094	3,619	475	11.9	1,132	1,547	1,811	720	738	979
Henderson	4,074	3,657	417	10.2	1,148	1,420	1,387	900	738	982
Henry	6,381	5,030	1,351	21.2	1,069	1,223	1,393	2,369	2,526	2,988
McNairy	3,863	3,542	321	8.3	1,300	1,617	1,616	1,057	1,155	1,461
*Madison	10,024	6,371	3,653	36.4	1,357	1,480	1,194	2,409	2,603	2,560
Perry	2,058	1,918	140	6.8	678	473	483	756	664	663
	43,881	35,772	8,109	18.5	11,369	12,622	12,450	12,782	12,566	14,702
NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 203,021										
Crockett	3,802	3,025	777	20.4	1,205	1,361	1,144	1,226	1,297	1,608
Dyer	6,912	5,534	1,378	19.9	672	666	459	1,786	1,469	1,997
*Gibson	10,385	8,216	2,169	20.9	1,369	1,520	1,462	3,173	2,671	3,609
*Haywood	5,839	2,113	3,726	63.8	189	122	61	1,215	1,069	1,677
Lake	2,359	1,387	972	41.2	178	153	130	464	499	727
*Lauderdale	5,092	2,905	2,187	42.9	519	779	532	1,315	1,020	1,579
Obion	7,781	6,489	1,292	16.6	711	648	598	2,258	2,152	3,170
Weakley	8,139	7,305	834	10.2	1,812	1,615	1,785	2,976	2,811	3,639
	50,309	36,974	13,335	20.7	6,655	6,964	6,171	14,413	12,988	18,006
TENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, POPULATION 274,166										
*Fayette	6,495	1,992	4,503	69.3	4	152	117	1,849	829	1,812
*Hardeman	5,367	3,254	2,113	39.4	553	584	490	1,568	1,323	1,729
*Shelby	60,095	33,131	26,964	44.9	3,069	3,540	4,515	7,411	6,732	10,967
*Tipton	7,061	3,992	3,069	43.5	1,041	733	299	1,662	987	2,036
	79,018	42,309	36,649	46.4	4,667	5,009	5,421	12,490	9,871	16,544
TOTALS FOR STATE: POPULATION 2,184,789	552,663	433,526	119,142	21.6	118,574	115,268	110,223	135,011	133,025	153,282
TOTALS 15 COUNTIES HAVING MORE THAN 2,000 NEGRO MALES OF VOTING AGE IN 1910.	237,082	152,646	84,436	31.8	26,209	26,630	26,722	48,665	45,640	55,281

* One of 15 counties having more than 2,000 negro males of voting age.

In the Sixth Congressional District, Montgomery County (Clarksville) with 37.4 per cent. of its voting population negroes, gave 63 per cent. of its votes to the Democrats; and Davidson County (Nashville) with 30.4 per cent. of its voters negroes, gave 75.5 per cent. of its vote to Democrats; while Stewart County, having the smallest percentage (11.3 per cent.) of negroes, gave the largest vote, 32.4 per cent., to the Republicans.

In the Seventh Congressional District, Maury County (Columbia) with 38.2 per cent. of its potential voters negroes, gave 80 per cent. of its votes to Democrats, while Lawrence County, having only 5.4 per cent. negroes, the smallest percentage of negroes of any county in the District, gave the Republicans a majority, as also did Hickman, Houston and Wayne Counties—all having less than 15 per cent. of its total population negroes.

In the Eighth Congressional District, Madison County (Jackson) having 36.4 per cent. negroes, gave 63.4 per cent. of its vote to Democrats, while McNairy County, having next to the smallest percentage of negroes, gave the Republicans majorities, as did Hardin, Henderson, Decatur and Carroll Counties, all the latter having less than 15 per cent. of their total population negroes, except Carroll, and that county had only 18.8 per cent. of its total population negroes. It is well known that negro political activity in Carroll County is negligible.

In the Ninth Congressional District, Haywood County, with 63.8 per cent. negroes, gave 82.5 per cent. of its votes to Democrats, while Crockett, an adjoining county, with only 20.4 per cent. negroes, having the smallest percentage of negroes except one in the District, gave 49.6 per cent. of its vote to Republicans.

In the Tenth Congressional District, Fayette County, with 69.3 per cent. of its potential voters negroes, gave 99.6 per cent. of its vote to Democrats, while Tipton County, having the smallest negro population in the District, except one, gave 39 per cent. of its vote to Republicans; and Shelby County (Memphis) with 44.9 per cent. of its potential voters negroes, gave 70.6 per cent. of its vote to Democrats.

NEGROES AID DEMOCRATS

In recent years the only times the Republicans have won in Tennessee were when the negroes have kept away from the polls.

IT SHOULD ALWAYS BE REMEMBERED THAT OFFICERS ARE ELECTED BY MAJORITIES AND PLURALITIES OF VOTES, AND NOT VOTES ALONE.

In the nine counties heretofore named, in which over 50 per cent. of all the negroes in the State lived in 1910, the total number of males of voting age was 144,049 of which 83,986 were white and 60,053 negroes.

The total vote for President in these nine counties was as follows:

In 1908 Bryan	26,202
Taft	9,631
In 1912 Wilson	24,579
Taft and Roosevelt combined.....	10,301
In 1916 Wilson	32,145
Hughes	10,506

Four of these nine counties comprise the Tenth Congressional District, and in 1910 the total number of males of voting age was 79,018 of which 42,369 were whites and 36,649 negroes. In this district there resided 30.7 per cent. of the total negro males of voting age in the State.

Shelby County, one of the counties in the Tenth District, had 60,095 potential voters of which 43,131 were white and 26,964 negroes. There were 10,612 registered negro voters in 1916. There was more negro political activity in the Tenth District in 1916 than there had been for over twenty years. The Democratic majority in 1916 reflects it.

In the Tenth District the Presidential vote was as follows:

In 1908 Bryan	12,490
Taft	4,667
In 1912 Wilson	9,871
Taft and Roosevelt combined.....	5,009
In 1916 Wilson	16,544
Hughes	5,421

In the fifteen counties in Tennessee having a negro male voting population of over 2,000, and in which 70 per cent., 84,436 of the 119,142 negroes of voting age in the State lived, the Democratic majorities were as follows:

In 1908.....	22,456
In 1912.....	19,010
In 1916.....	28,569

Negro political activity causes more Democrats to go to the polls and vote; causes independents to vote for Democratic nominees instead of Republican nominees; and, it also causes many whites who are Republicans from principle to forego their privilege of voting. These statements are true, even though those who conduct Republican campaigns positively decline and refuse to believe them. It produces desirable conditions for the Democratic party.

The proportion that the negro forms of the total population has decreased in practically every Southern State. In 1900 the negroes were

32.3 per cent. of the total population of the South, by 1910 their proportionate percentage had decreased to 29.8 per cent.

In Tennessee the proportion decreased from 23 per cent. in 1900 to 21.7 per cent. in 1910. Tennessee is one of the three Southern States that showed an actual decrease in the negro population according to the Federal Census of 1910—the negro population decreased from 480,243 in 1900 to 473,088 in 1910—an actual decrease of 1.5 per cent. in the decade.

Two other Southern States showed a decrease—Maryland 1.2 per cent. and Kentucky 8.1 per cent.—during the period from 1900 to 1910. Kentucky showed a decrease from 1890 to 1900. These States, with Missouri, which also showed a decrease in the total negro population from 1900 to 1910, have each had Republican Governors in the last twenty years.

From the foregoing it is possible to arrive at a pretty clear idea of the political influence of the negro in Tennessee. However, a further analysis of the vote in Tennessee is a still further confirmation of the fact that the "Recognition" accorded the negro by the Republican party in Tennessee is "aid" rendered to the Democratic party.

The Democratic party does not accord "Recognition," but gets the benefits of negro political activity.

NEGRO A REPUBLICAN LIABILITY IN TENNESSEE

In the quotations from negro papers heretofore referred to, it was stated that "excepting East Tennessee, they (Republicans) could muster scarcely five thousand votes;" that "The negro vote comprises about 85 per cent. of the Republicans in Tennessee;" and, that

"There are about 125,000 negro voters in Tennessee, and it goes without saying that 99.5 per cent. of them are Republicans. In 1914, Rye, Democrat, received 136,816 votes for Governor and Hooper, Republican, received 115,821 votes. From these figures it doesn't take exactly a Solomon to tell or judge about the size of the Republican white vote."

The correct vote was Rye 137,656, Hooper 116,677. Rye's majority over Hooper was 20,979.

There were 119,142 negro males of voting age in Tennessee in 1910, of which 60,053 lived in nine counties. There were also 83,986 whites of voting age in these nine counties. In 1914, Rye received 34,543 votes and Hooper 11,821 in these nine counties, a majority of 23,422; that is, 2,443 more than his majority in the state.

There are 15 counties in the state in which resided, in each county, more than 2,000 negroes

of voting age in 1910. Two of these counties were in East Tennessee, five in Middle Tennessee and eight in West Tennessee. In these counties there were 237,082 males of voting age of which 152,646 were white and 84,436 were negroes. This was 70.8 per cent. of all the negroes living in the State.

In these 15 counties having more than 2,000 negroes of voting age in 1910, in which lived 84,436 of the 119,142—70.8 per cent.—of the total potential negro voters in the state, Rye received 54,610 votes and Hooper 29,932. Rye's majority over Hooper in these counties was 24,678. This was 3,689 more than Rye's majority in the state. Hooper did not carry but 2 of these 15 counties—Knox in East Tennessee and Giles in Middle Tennessee.

In the 25 counties in the state in which resided, in each county, more than 1,000 negro males of voting age—82.3 per cent. in the state—Rye's majority over Hooper was 30,127. This was 9,148 more than his total majority in the state. Of these 25 counties Hooper carried only 4—Knox in East Tennessee, Bedford and Giles in Middle Tennessee and Carroll in West Tennessee. In these 25 counties Rye received 74,411 votes and Hooper 44,284 votes. That is, in the 25 counties in which 82.3 per cent. of all the negroes in the state lived, Rye received 55 per cent. of his total vote in the state and Hooper received only 38 per cent. of his total vote in the State.

The total number of males of voting age in the ninth and tenth Congressional districts in 1910, was 129,327 of which 79,343 were whites and 49,984 were negroes—42 per cent. of the negroes in the state. The number of males of voting age in the eighth Congressional district was 43,881 of which 35,772 were whites and 8,109 were negroes. These three districts comprise West Tennessee.

The vote in the ninth and tenth districts combined was, Rye 21,112, Hooper 12,324. That is, Rye's majority in these two districts was 133 more votes than his majority in the state; while Hooper received in the eighth district 13,793 votes in which only 8,109 negroes lived. He received in the ninth and tenth districts combined, in which 49,984 negroes lived, only 12,324 votes—1,471 less than he received in the eighth district.

In the August election in 1914, a fight was made by the retreating liquor forces in Tennessee to control the sheriff's office in Davidson and Shelby counties of which Nashville and Memphis are the county seats. There were no Republican candidates for any county or city office in either of these counties or cities. Nor have there been any Republican candidates for county or city offices in these counties and cities for more than ten years.

Up to this time there had been little or no negro political activity in Tennessee for about twenty years. Under the banner of "Regular Democrats" there were registered about 12,000 negroes in Shelby county alone. The "Regular Democrats" were successful at this election. And, with renewed vigor the Democrats made the "home rule" principle of government more autocratic and rotten, and the city and county governments of these cities and counties ranked among the rankest in the nation.

At the gubernatorial election in the following November all of these negroes were qualified to vote. Many of them did. Rye's vote in Davidson and Shelby counties shows it. The vote in Davidson county was Rye 9,019, Hooper 5,324; in Shelby county, Rye 16,263, Hooper 1,985. Rye's majority over Hooper in these two counties was 17,973, only 3,006 less than his total majority in the State.

After Rye became governor the stench in these "Banner Democratic Counties"—largely made Democratic by "the aid of the black man"—became so strong that even Democrats could not stand the Benevolent Despotism. There was then enacted ouster legislation and impeachment proceedings by the state legislature, with the co-operation of Republican legislators, who were fortunate in being denied the "aid" of negroes when they were candidates, that resulted for the time being in removing from office some of these "simon pure" Democrats. This legislation enacted was only a continuation of the policies of former Governor Hooper.

Following the Saturnalia under the tutelage of the Democrats in 1914, in 1916 the negroes under negro leadership, and ostensibly for Republican nominees, were more active in politics in Tennessee than at any time during the present generation. The vote for President was, Wilson 153,282, Hughes 116,223.

There were 10,612 registered negro voters in Shelby county. Their activity was played up daily by Democratic newspapers. The total number of males over 21 years of age in the two counties of Shelby and Davidson in 1910 was 101,802 of which 62,272 were whites and 39,620 were negro—33.3 per cent. of the potential negro voters in the state.

The total vote in these two counties was as follows:

In 1916 Hughes	7,683
Wilson	19,925
In 1912 Taft and Roosevelt combined.....	6,299
Wilson	16,249
In 1908 Taft	5,790
Bryan	15,720

From this it will be observed that the Democratic majority for President in 1916 in these two counties was 12,242; that the Democratic majority was larger than in any of the years shown. Negro political activity increases Democratic majorities.

There was no negro political activity in 1912 in Tennessee, and newspapers made special comment in connection with the election returns that few if any negroes voted that year. The figures showing the returns for that year are more eloquent than words.

In the Republican Convention that nominated Ben W. Hooper for Governor of Tennessee in 1910, there were only two negro delegates. They were seated as a part of a contesting county delegation and had only half a vote each. After Hooper was nominated Gov. M. R. Patterson, the Democratic nominee, realized Hooper would be elected and withdrew from the race. Ex-Governor, then Senator Robt. L. Taylor succeeded Patterson as the Democratic candidate and Hooper defeated him. The vote was, Hooper 133,074, Taylor 121,694.

In 1912, when the political storm rent the Republican party in twain, Hooper defeated another Democratic war horse, Ex-Governor Benton McMillan. The vote was, Hooper 124,641, McMillan 116,610. The vote in 1912 for President was, Wilson 135,425, Taft and Roosevelt combined 113,422, of which Taft received 59,381 and Roosevelt 54,041. Roosevelt came into Tennessee and at the solicitation of Hooper's enemies made speeches against Hooper.

Ben W. Hooper, a Republican, was twice elected governor of Tennessee by as pure Anglo-Saxon voters in West Tennessee and Middle Tennessee as well as East Tennessee, as any man was ever elected to any office at any time since this Republic was established. He was defeated for governor the third time he was a candidate by Thomas C. Rye through the "aid" of the negroes to the Democratic party.

The Nashville (negro) Globe, said, "excepting East Tennessee, they (Republicans) could muster scarcely five thousand votes."

The total average vote received by the Republicans in the first, second, third and fourth Congressional districts in Tennessee for President in 1908, 1912 and 1916 (the Progressive vote being counted Republican in all these statements), was 71,000. While the fourth district is partly in Middle Tennessee it is here included with the East Tennessee districts. In the fourth district in which there were only 5,024 potential negro voters Hooper received 13,930 votes. There were 25,846 potential negro voters in these four districts in 1910.

The total average Republican vote in the three Congressional districts, here designated as Middle Tennessee, for President, was 23,000; and, in the three districts comprising West Tennessee was 24,000.

In 1910 there were 35,203 potential negro voters in Middle Tennessee of which 18,072 lived in the sixth district and 17,131 lived in the fifth and seventh districts combined.

The average Republican vote for President in the sixth district in the years 1908, 1912 and 1916 was 5,882 and in the fifth and seventh districts combined was 16,177. The potential white voters in these three districts were 109,795.

In 1910 in West Tennessee there were 58,093 negroes of voting age of which 8,109 lived in the eighth Congressional district and 49,984 in the ninth and tenth districts combined.

There were also 173,208 potential white voters in these three districts.

The average Republican vote for President in the eighth district in the three years mentioned was 12,122 while in the ninth and tenth districts combined it was only 11,606.

The average Republican vote in the seventh and eighth districts combined was 21,782 while the combined vote in the sixth, ninth and tenth districts was only 17,488—4,295 less than the vote in the seventh and eighth districts combined.

The sixth, ninth and tenth districts had 68,056 negro and 117,289 white potential voters while the seventh and eighth districts had only 18,675 negro and 71,605 white potential voters.

So that the Republicans received "Excepting East Tennessee" over 40,000 more than "scarcely five thousand votes;" and, they were white votes; negro and Democratic newspapers to the contrary notwithstanding.

It might "take exactly a Solomon to tell or judge about the" exact "size of the Republican white vote in Tennessee" or the negro Democratic vote in Tennessee; but an Ananias does not have to make a statement, and it to be characterized by a word that is spelled with fewer letters than is the word false for it to be untrue.

There was a smaller percentage of the total vote cast in the Congressional districts in which there was a large per cent. of the total potential voters negroes than in those where there was a small percentage negroes. The average per cent. of the total vote cast in the state of the total potential vote in the state was 46.5. In the eighth district the percentage of the total vote cast, of the total potential vote was 58.1. The eighth had the smallest per cent. of negroes of any district in West Tennessee; while in the tenth district that had the largest per cent. of negroes the vote cast was only 22.8 per cent. of the total potential vote.

In the nine counties in which 50 per cent. of the negroes lived, the total population of which was 41.7 per cent. negro, only 26.2 per cent. of the total potential vote was cast. In the fourth district in which only 10.5 of the potential vote was negro 62.3 per cent. of the total potential vote was cast. This is equally true if the total potential white voters be considered the total vote in the state.

An analysis shows that in Tennessee the potential negro voters cause the whites to refrain from voting. Undoubtedly more whites who believe in the principles of the Republican party fail to exercise their right of suffrage in the counties where there is a large percentage of negroes in the counties than there are Democrats who refrain from voting.

III.

WHITES IN RURAL DISTRICTS IN TENNESSEE ARE DELUDED INTO GIVING CITY NEGROES "RECOGNITION" IN CONVENTIONS. THIS "RECOGNITION" THEN CAUSES EFFORTS OF THE WHITES TO MAKE TENNESSEE REPUBLICAN TO BE DEFEATED.

In 1910 the total population of Davidson and Shelby counties was 340,917. The potential vote in these two counties was 101,802, of which 62,272 were whites, and 39,620 were negroes.

In these two counties resided 33.3 per cent. of the total potential negro voters in the state.

In these two counties the vote for Hughes in 1916, was only 7,683, that is to say, out of 62,272 whites and 39,620 negroes in these two counties the Republicans got only 183 votes more than the minimum number of votes (7,500) required for a congressional district to have two votes in the Republican National Convention.

In these two counties are situated Nashville and Memphis, two of the seven cities in the South having a population in 1910 of more than 100,000. These cities are the principal centers of negro political activity in Tennessee.

In 1910 the 101,802 potential voters in Davidson and Shelby counties was 18.4 per cent. of the total potential vote in the state.

The 39,620 potential negro voters in these two counties was 33.3 per cent. of the total potential negro vote in the State.

The total vote for Hughes in Tennessee in 1916 was 116,223. Of this Hughes received only 7,683 votes in these two counties, that is, 6.6 per cent. of his total vote in Tennessee. His total vote was only 7.7 per cent. of the total potential vote in Davidson and Shelby counties.

In 1916, the sixth Congressional district of Tennessee (Nashville) was entitled to two votes in and sent two delegates to the Republican National

Convention. One white delegate and one negro delegate, one white alternate and one negro alternate was sent.

There was also one delegate-at-large from Tennessee.

In 1910 there were 62,615 males of voting age in the sixth district, of which 44,543 were white and 18,072 were negroes.

Mr. Hughes made two speeches in Nashville during the Presidential campaign in 1916; one to an exclusive negro audience of several thousand, and one to an audience of over six thousand that was nearly all white.

Notwithstanding all of this "Recognition" to the negro race, out of 18,072 negroes and 44,543 whites the Presidential vote in this district in 1916 was less than 7,500. The number of delegates in the convention to the National Republican Convention in 1920 from this district was therefore reduced, under the rules, from two to one.

The basis of congressional representation for the 1910 census is 211,877. Davidson and Shelby counties with a total population of 340,917 had 129,040 more population than that fixed for one congressional district—nearly two-thirds of the apportionment for an additional congressional district. Yet, if these two counties had been in the same congressional district and the number of votes polled for President in 1916, had been only 184 less than the total vote polled in these two counties they would have been entitled to only one delegate to the Republican National Convention.

Because of the small vote cast for Republican candidates in four congressional districts in Tennessee there are four districts in Tennessee entitled to only one delegate to the National Convention in 1920. These districts are the fifth, sixth, ninth and tenth congressional districts.

In 1910 the sixth, ninth and tenth districts had a total potential vote of 185,345 of which 117,287 were white and 68,056 were negroes. Out of this potential vote of 185,345 the Republican candidate for president in 1916 received a total vote in these three districts of only 17,942. There was more negro political activity in Tennessee in 1916 than there had been in 20 years.

These are eloquent facts and figures. The people of the congressional district in Tennessee in which is located the capital of the state are disfranchised in part, as are other districts in Tennessee; and, in other states of the South because of negro political activity.

In 1910 the second Congressional district in Tennessee had 61,841 males of voting age, of which only 6,416 were negroes. Of these negroes 3,552 lived in Knox County, and of those in Knox

County 2,297 lived in the city of Knoxville. Only 14 per cent. of the potential vote in Knox County was negro while 21.7 per cent. of the potential vote in Knoxville was negro. Knox County as a whole is normally Republican, however, the city of Knoxville elected a Republican Mayor in 1919 for the first time in about 25 years.

If the aggregate Republican vote of the 10 Congressional Districts in Tennessee should be used in apportioning representation in the Republican National Convention, and the rule should be that there should be an average of not less than 7,500 votes for each District in the State, then as the total Republican vote for President in Tennessee is more than 115,000, Tennessee would have 50,000 more votes than would be required for the State to have 2 delegates for the total number of Congressional districts in the State. Tennessee is cut down 4 delegates because under the rule of the National Committee 4 Congressional districts polled less than 7,500 votes.

In these districts a large percentage of the population is negro. In these districts outsiders interfere, not because of Republican votes cast in these districts but because some of the population of these districts are negroes. The Republican party in Tennessee is done a grievous wrong by these outsiders. No person or set of persons should be permitted to sacrifice the Republican party, and its success, in Tennessee.

It does not alone concern the people of the four congressional districts that have had their representation cut in half, but it concerns all the people of Tennessee, regardless of party, for the voting strength of Tennessee to be cut down one-sixth in the Republican National Convention.

It does not matter what sort of theory may be advanced about government, the facts are, the more the negro is appealed to for votes in the South by the Republican Party the smaller the Republican vote and the larger the Democratic majority.

Republicans in Tennessee, or Republicans outside of Tennessee, who in any way aid in maintaining the past policy of the party in regard to the negro in Tennessee, for whatever reason, are enemies of the great mass of Republican voters in Tennessee. The success of the whole Republican Party in Tennessee should not be sacrificed by any such policy.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS DONE MUCH FOR THE NEGRO RACE; BUT, THE NEGROES HAVE NEVER DONE ANYTHING FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN TENNESSEE EXCEPT PREVENT ITS SUCCESS.

IV.

NEW ENGLAND NOW A MISNOMER

With only 40.3 per cent. of its white population in 1910, native whites of native parents, New England, the Ancient Home of the Puritan, is today the least Anglo-American section of the United States.

It has become a Capernaum wherein all manner of foreigners mingle and where, by curious irony, "Papist" Irish, and French-Canadians have thickly settled. It is from this element that the Democratic strength in Massachusetts is largely recruited while the allegiance of those representing the original New England stock is to the Republican party.*

Are we approaching the day when the Anglo-Saxon people of the State of Charles Sumner will call on the Anglo-Saxon people he so cordially hated, to preserve for them Anglo-Saxon liberty?

The native white population of Tennessee and Kentucky combined was nearly one million—904,381—more than the total native whites in the six New England States in 1910.

In 1860, New England had 24,711 negroes, in 1910, 66,306, an increase of less than fifty thousand in fifty years. At that rate that part of the Nation that has sought to direct the minds of a people and govern a black empire far away, as England rules India, would attract all the ten million negroes in America to New England in about 10,000 years.

It was largely the influence of New England that made the first politically solid South. It was black, not white.

It is recognized, however, that all the people of New England and the North are not of the same mind. Maj. Gen. N. P. Banks of Boston in 1864, said:

"The people of the North are much more disturbed and distressed at the condition of the negro, than he is himself."

Conditions might have been different had the advice of Gov. John A. Adams, of Massachusetts, in his valedictory address, January 4th, 1866, been followed. He said:

"We ought to demand and to secure the co-operation of the strongest and ablest minds and the natural leaders of opinion in the South."

The Southern white man, in the face of handicaps and obstacles which might well have palsied a less determined people, has demonstrated his ability, absolutely, to control his domestic affairs, regardless of the negro within, or the white man without. It cannot be questioned that he will do so in the future as he has done in the past.

*This was written in February, 1919. The Boston police strike occurred in September, 1919.

In view of this leadership which has been developed in the hard school of adversity and of the most certain great and far-reaching influence the Southern Anglo-American people will exercise in the Nation and throughout the world in the future, is not half a century long enough for the Republican party to ignore the advice of Gov. Adams?

The spirit of hate fostered by Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner and others, has no right to a permanent place in this Republic.

Much is said about the small vote that is cast for members of Congress and Presidential electors in the South. Any criticism of this kind comes with poor grace from leaders of the Republican party. Was it not the Republican party that disfranchised the Anglo-Saxon of the South, not only discouraged voting, but passed a law making it illegal for whites to vote. The Republican party is estopped from taking any advantage of any kind of this condition, any where at any time, so long as it fosters the policies and the spirit of hate developed and maintained by Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner and their associates and successors.

To canonize Lincoln and to foster the spirit and policies of Stevens, Sumner and their followers is rank hypocrisy. Such action is worse. It is a crime against Anglo-Saxon liberty in this nation.

It is mild to say that it implants false ideas and a wrong spirit in the minds of the Aliens who have come to America to enjoy the rights of life, liberty and property under this government.

There are papers published in Chicago and New York a part of whose fixed editorial policy it is to abuse the South and everything Southern. In this they are the enemies of the Anglo-Saxon people in this nation and the paid or willing tools of those who would destroy the Anglo-Saxon institutions of this republic.

Instead of trying to enlighten all the people of the Nation, with a sympathetic attitude that would make for unity, and weld the Nation so it will be strong in every way in each part, by this fixed policy born of hatred of the past and fostered by the present enemies of the Nation, they are agencies of discord that are rendering aid and comfort to those who would make this Nation weak.

UNNATURALIZED ALIENS CAN CONTROL NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

In Indiana (that sometimes goes Democratic and sometimes Republican) if a man has been in the United States one year, in the State six months and declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States, he can vote and hold office. There are other states with similar provisions.

Those who see a mote in the eye of the South had better remove the Socialistic beam that is infected with the leprous germ of Bolshevism from their own eyes.

While a great majority of those who were born in a foreign country, or whose parents were foreign born, are just as loyal to the government of the United States as the native whites of native parentage, there is an element in this country that is seeking to destroy this government and all of the principles for which it stands.

There are thousands from Continental Europe who have no sympathy with Anglo-Saxon institutions. Many have come here and have been and are now being financed for the express purpose of dividing the people of this nation whose forbears established this Republic. And, there are enough states with lax suffrage laws, like Indiana as an illustration, to enable them to control a National election.

V.

REPUBLICANS WOULD GAIN BY ENCOURAGING SOUTHERN WHITES TO VOTE

Some of the Democratic demagogues from the South are continually flirting with this alien element. Their actions do not meet the approval or the applause of the thoughtful people of the South, but the only effort of the Republican party to correct this condition in the South has been to criticise.

You cannot make an Anglo-Saxon do anything by abusing him. Abuse him and he will fight.

It was disclosed by the Questionnaires filled out by men between the ages of 36 and 45 under the second Selective Service law that there were thousands of white men in the South of that age who have never voted, and who had sons old enough to vote and to fight.

It never seems to have occurred to those who conduct political campaigns that there are any whites in the South who are not Democrats. Southern whites who are not Democrats and who are not seekers after Federal office have received little or no consideration or encouragement from the Republican organization.

Those who have controlled the Republican party in the nation in the past have said to the whites of the South, "If you want to be a Republican you must share your conventions, your delegations, and your campaigns with negroes, if your representatives are to be seated in the National Conventions." Most of the whites who believe in the principles of the Republican party and who have no desire for any sort of Federal office, silently say, "If that is the party law we will have nothing to do with any sort of party organization and will not vote at any election."

The pathetic and dramatic side of it all is that thousands of whites who are not Democrats refrain from participating in elections because of the attitude of the Republican party toward the negroes in the South.

Not being able to express their political convictions freely, they do not express them at all.

By co-operation between the negroes in the South who want "Recognition" and a small coterie of negro agitators in the North who control a few votes in some of the Northern cities successful pressure is brought to bear at National Republican Conventions to seat negro delegates from the South.

Neither of these groups of negroes in the North or South receive much consideration from the great mass of negroes in the South. They retard the intelligent work of the group of real representatives of the negro race in the South.

The Republican party disfranchised the whites of the South not in accordance with the ideas of Lincoln, but in accordance with the will of his enemies, and now some of the Republican leaders have the gall to canonize Lincoln and in the next sentence to criticise the whites of the South because they do not vote.

That group of accessories after the fact is lingering too long. For the good of the party, and more especially for the good of the Nation, they should be passed along to abide with those who were the principals in the crime.

Such criticism as this only encourages the enemies of Anglo-Saxon institutions.

Those who have dominated the organization that controlled the Republican party in the past never seemed to have even asked the question, "Can there any good thing come out of" the South? Is it not time to "come and see?"

You cannot make a real Democrat out of an "old line Whig." "even unto the third and fourth generation."

"We ought to demand, and to secure, the co-operation of the strongest and ablest minds and the natural leaders of opinion in the South," said Governor Adams.

To build up a virile political party in the South under the leadership of Southern men standing for high and patriotic principles of government is an obligation resting upon the Republican party if it is to aid in maintaining the fundamentals upon which this government was established.

Strong men from among the Anglo-Saxon people of the South who command the confidence of their associates in business and in social intercourse, and who can say to them, "We would teach you to be leaders among men," and not followers of demagogues, there are, and who have the moral courage to assert themselves and enlighten their associates upon correct economic

principles and governmental policies; but they will not do so in the interest of the Republican party if the leaders of the Republican party elsewhere continue to ignore such advice as was expressed by Governor Adams, and if there is a continuation of the false policies that maintain the present artificial political conditions.

VI.

EARLY RACIAL GROUPS

In these days when racial groups are being discussed, and when the peoples occupying various parts of the earth are to be given consideration, and especially when the dominant voice and language of the Anglo-Saxon nations of the earth are being heard in determining the future international relations of the world, it is interesting to examine the Anglo-Saxon groups of people in America.

It is the present day Anglo-Saxon people in America whose forefathers founded this Nation—the Nation that made victory for the Allies possible in the final stages of the Great War.

In the early days of the Nation the population of New York was about one-half Dutch, the rest English, Irish and Scotch. New Jersey was settled by Dutch and people from the British Isles. Pennsylvania's population was about one-third German, one-third English and the remainder Scotch and Irish, with some Swedes. The people of New England were chiefly English.

The population of the South Atlantic States was principally English, with some Scotch and Irish, with a considerable number of French, who constituted, and constitute today, the only representatives, in any considerable number, of the European Continental races in this part of the Nation.

From New England and the South Atlantic States came those who settled the Ohio, Tennessee and South Mississippi valleys. The occupation of this territory, with the original Colonial settlements, by Anglo-Saxons is the basis of Anglo-Saxon government in America.

The greater part of the blood that flows in the veins of the American people today is that of people who inhabited the United States prior to 1830. This is the old American group and is chiefly of British origin.

More than three-quarters of a century ago all of this territory settled by these Anglo-Americans had been organized into States. This was before there was much emigration from Continental Europe to any of the States. According to the Federal Census of 1910, two-thirds of the descendants of these original settlers lived in the States established in this territory. It was the ancestors of these people that founded this government.

VII.

COMPARISONS OF STATE GROUPS

The total population of Continental United States in 1910 was 91,972,266 of which 49,488,575 were native whites of native parentage, 18,897,837 were of foreign or mixed parentage, 13,345,545 foreign born, 9,827,763 negroes and 412,546 Indian, Chinese, Japanese and all other Oriental races. The native whites of native parentage are principally Anglo-Americans.

The Census Bureau does not compute the center of population for the native whites of native parents! It does compute the center of population for the negroes, and for the foreign born, and for the total population.

In 1910 the center of population for negroes was near Ft. Payne in the northeast corner of Alabama. The center of population for the foreign born was near Defiance, Ohio, in the northwest part of the state, within less than 40 miles of the Indiana and Michigan boundaries. The center of foreign born population has been within less than 50 miles of Defiance since 1880.

The center of population for the total population of the United States was at Bloomington, Indiana, about 50 miles southwest of Indianapolis.

While the center of population for the native whites of native parentage has not been computed by the Census Bureau, undoubtedly the center is not many miles from Hodgenville, Kentucky, near the center of the state, the birth place of the great Anglo-American, Abraham Lincoln.

For the purpose of making comparisons of the Anglo-Americans, the States are here divided into five groups, as follows: (1) The **New England group**, viz., Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut; (2) the **Middle Atlantic group**, viz., New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania; (3) the **North Ohio Valley group**, viz., Ohio, Indiana and Illinois; (4) the **Tennessee Basin group**, viz., Virginia, West Virginia (originally a part of Virginia), North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Kentucky; and (5) all the states west of the Mississippi River except Arkansas, the states of Florida, Maryland, Delaware, Michigan and Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia.

All these States placed in the latter group (5) have less than 75 per cent. of the white population, native white of native white parentage, except Oklahoma with 90.7 per cent., Missouri with 76.2 per cent., Florida with 84.3 per cent., Texas with 81.2 per cent., Louisiana with 82.5 per cent., and New Mexico with 83.9 per cent. All the States of the Union have contributed largely to the population of Missouri and Oklahoma, while in Florida, Texas and New Mexico are to be

ABSTRACT OF THE CENSUS—POPULATION. COLOR OR RACE, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1910 AND 1900.

DIVISION AND STATE.	POPULATION BY COLOR OR RACE.												
	Total.		White.		Negro.		Indian.		Chinese.		Japanese.		All other: 1910
	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	
United States	91,972,208	76,904,575	81,731,957	66,809,196	9,827,763	8,833,994	245,483	337,196	71,831	89,863	72,157	24,326	3,175
GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS:													
New England	6,552,681	5,502,017	6,480,514	5,527,026	66,308	59,099	2,076	1,600	3,499	4,203	272	89	14
Middle Atlantic	19,315,802	15,454,678	18,880,462	15,110,862	417,870	325,921	7,717	6,959	8,189	10,490	1,643	446	21
East North Central	18,260,621	15,968,581	17,927,622	15,710,053	300,836	257,842	18,255	15,027	3,415	2,533	482	126	11
West North Central	11,637,921	10,347,623	11,351,621	10,065,817	242,662	237,909	41,406	42,339	1,196	1,135	1,000	223	37
South Atlantic	12,194,995	10,443,480	8,071,603	6,706,058	4,112,488	3,729,017	9,054	8,885	1,682	1,791	156	29	12
East South Central	8,409,901	7,547,757	6,754,326	5,044,847	2,652,513	2,499,886	2,612	2,590	414	427	26	7	10
West South Central	8,784,534	6,532,290	6,721,491	4,771,065	1,984,426	1,694,068	76,767	66,674	1,803	1,555	425	30	119
Mountain	2,633,517	1,674,657	2,520,455	1,579,855	21,467	15,590	75,338	66,155	5,614	7,950	10,447	5,107	196
Pacific	4,192,304	2,416,692	4,023,873	2,293,613	29,195	14,664	32,458	30,367	46,320	59,779	57,703	18,269	2,755
NEW ENGLAND:													
Maine	742,371	694,466	739,995	692,226	1,363	1,319	892	798	108	119	13	4	.....
New Hampshire	430,572	411,588	429,906	410,791	564	662	34	22	67	112	1	1	.....
Vermont	355,956	343,641	354,298	342,771	1,621	826	29	8	8	39	3	.....	.....
Massachusetts	3,366,416	2,805,346	3,324,926	2,769,764	38,065	31,974	688	587	2,582	2,968	151	53	14
Rhode Island	542,610	428,556	532,492	419,050	9,529	9,092	284	35	272	366	33	13	.....
Connecticut	1,114,756	908,420	1,098,897	892,424	15,174	15,226	182	153	462	599	71	18	.....
MIDDLE ATLANTIC:													
New York	9,113,614	7,268,804	8,968,845	7,156,881	134,191	99,232	6,046	5,257	5,256	7,170	1,247	354	19
New Jersey	2,537,167	1,883,060	2,445,894	1,812,317	89,760	69,844	168	63	1,139	1,393	206	52	.....
Pennsylvania	7,065,111	6,302,115	7,467,713	6,141,664	193,919	156,846	1,603	1,639	1,764	1,927	190	46	2
EAST NORTH CENTRAL:													
Ohio	4,767,121	4,157,546	4,654,897	4,060,304	111,462	96,901	127	42	569	371	76	27	.....
Indiana	2,700,876	2,516,462	2,639,961	2,468,602	60,330	57,595	279	243	276	207	38	5	2
Illinois	5,638,591	4,821,550	5,626,962	4,734,873	109,046	86,078	188	16	2,103	1,503	285	80	4
Michigan	2,810,173	2,420,982	2,785,247	2,396,663	17,118	15,816	7,519	6,354	241	240	49	9	2
Wisconsin	2,333,980	2,069,042	2,320,555	2,057,911	2,900	2,542	10,142	8,372	226	212	34	5	3
WEST NORTH CENTRAL:													
Minnesota	2,075,708	1,751,394	2,069,227	1,737,036	7,084	4,950	9,053	9,182	275	166	67	51	2
Iowa	2,224,771	2,231,853	2,309,191	2,218,667	14,973	12,693	471	382	97	104	36	7	3
Missouri	3,293,335	3,106,065	3,134,932	2,944,843	157,482	161,234	313	130	535	449	99	9	4
North Dakota	577,056	319,146	569,855	311,712	617	286	6,486	6,968	39	32	59	148	.....
South Dakota	583,888	401,570	563,771	380,714	817	465	19,137	20,225	121	165	42	1	.....
Nebraska	1,192,214	1,068,300	1,180,293	1,066,526	7,689	6,269	3,502	3,322	112	180	500	3	28
Kansas	1,690,949	1,470,495	1,634,352	1,416,319	54,030	52,003	2,444	2,130	16	39	107	4	.....
SOUTH ATLANTIC:													
Delaware	202,322	184,735	171,102	153,977	31,181	30,697	5	9	30	51	4	1	.....
Maryland	1,295,346	1,188,044	1,062,639	962,424	232,250	235,064	55	3	378	544	24	9	.....
District of Columbia	331,069	278,718	326,128	191,632	94,446	86,702	68	22	369	455	47	7	11
Virginia	2,061,612	1,654,184	1,389,809	1,192,855	671,096	660,722	539	354	154	243	14	10	.....
West Virginia	1,221,119	958,800	1,156,817	915,233	64,173	43,499	36	12	90	56	3	.....	.....
North Carolina	2,206,287	1,993,810	1,500,511	1,263,603	697,843	624,469	7,851	5,687	80	51	2	.....	.....
South Carolina	1,515,400	1,340,316	679,161	557,807	835,843	782,321	331	121	57	67	8	.....	.....
Georgia	2,609,121	2,216,331	1,431,802	1,181,294	1,176,987	1,034,813	95	19	233	204	4	1	.....
Florida	752,619	628,542	443,634	297,333	308,669	230,730	74	356	191	120	0	1	1
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL:													
Kentucky	2,289,905	2,147,174	2,027,951	1,862,309	261,656	284,706	234	102	52	57	12	.....	.....
Tennessee	2,184,789	2,020,616	1,711,432	1,540,186	473,088	480,243	216	108	43	75	8	4	2
Alabama	2,138,093	1,828,697	1,228,632	1,001,152	908,282	827,307	909	177	62	58	4	3	4
Mississippi	1,797,114	1,551,270	786,111	641,200	1,009,487	907,630	1,253	2,203	257	237	2	.....	4
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL:													
Arkansas	1,574,449	1,311,564	1,131,026	944,580	442,891	366,856	460	66	62	62	9	.....	1
Louisiana	1,656,388	1,381,625	941,086	729,612	713,874	650,804	780	593	507	599	31	17	110
Oklahoma	1,657,155	790,391	1,444,831	670,304	137,612	55,684	74,825	64,445	139	58	48	.....	.....
Texas	3,896,542	3,048,710	3,304,848	2,426,669	690,049	620,722	702	470	595	836	340	13	8
MOUNTAIN:													
Montana	376,063	243,329	360,580	226,283	1,834	1,823	10,745	11,343	1,285	1,739	1,585	2,441	24
Idaho	325,594	161,772	319,221	154,495	651	293	3,488	4,226	859	1,467	1,363	1,291	12
Wyoming	145,965	92,531	140,318	89,051	2,235	940	1,496	1,686	246	461	1,596	393	84
Colorado	799,024	639,700	783,415	529,046	11,453	8,570	1,482	1,437	373	509	2,300	48	1
New Mexico	327,301	196,310	304,594	180,207	1,628	1,610	20,573	13,144	248	341	258	8	.....
Arizona	204,354	122,931	171,468	92,903	2,009	1,848	29,201	26,480	1,305	1,419	371	281	.....
Utah	373,351	276,749	366,583	272,465	1,144	672	3,123	2,623	371	572	2,110	417	20
Nevada	81,875	42,335	74,276	35,405	513	134	5,240	5,216	927	1,332	864	228	55
PACIFIC:													
Washington	1,141,990	618,103	1,109,111	496,304	6,058	2,514	10,997	10,039	2,709	3,629	12,929	5,617	186
Oregon	672,765	413,536	655,090	394,582	1,492	1,105	5,090	4,951	7,363	10,397	3,418	2,501	312
California	2,377,549	1,485,653	2,259,672	1,402,727	21,645	11,045	16,371	15,377	36,245	45,753	41,356	10,151	2,257

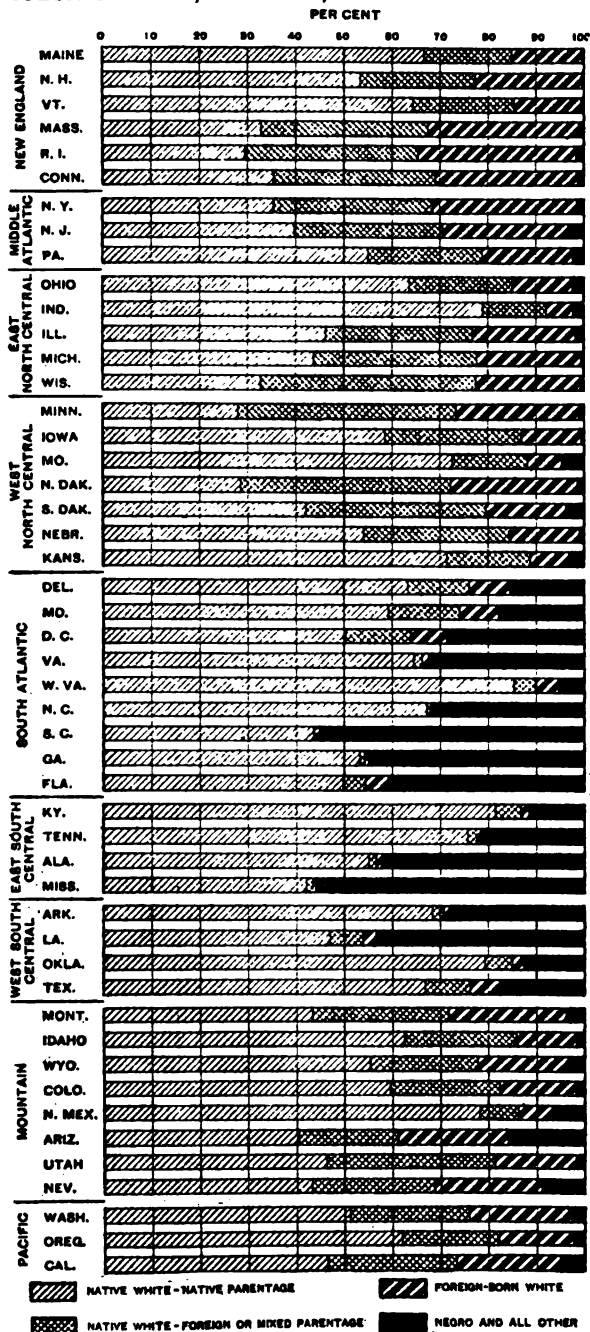
* Includes population of Indian Territory for 1900.

COLOR OR RACE, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE.

NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1910 AND 1900.

DIVISION AND STATE.	TOTAL POPULATION BY NATIVITY				WHITE POPULATION BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE.											
	Native.		Foreign born.		Native.											
					Total.				Native parentage.		Foreign parentage.		Mixed parentage.		Foreign born	
	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900
United States.....	71,454,389	65,653,299	12,515,888	10,341,876	68,398,412	64,596,279	49,488,975	40,949,382	12,916,311	10,632,280	5,981,838	5,013,737	12,346,548	10,213,817		
GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS:																
New England.....	4,727,571	4,146,780	1,826,110	1,445,237	4,686,128	4,080,154	2,613,419	2,511,110	1,460,568	1,117,083	592,144	461,951	1,814,386	1,436,672		
Middle Atlantic.....	14,464,719	12,137,119	4,851,173	3,317,536	14,064,273	11,808,746	8,462,961	7,406,879	4,113,078	3,143,021	1,478,236	1,259,146	4,826,179	3,302,116		
East North Central.....	15,176,855	13,360,358	5,073,766	2,635,226	14,860,402	13,089,750	9,751,968	8,488,016	3,450,015	3,110,784	1,658,419	1,490,956	3,067,220	2,620,297		
West North Central.....	10,021,226	8,814,175	1,616,066	1,583,245	9,738,300	8,534,712	6,523,687	5,660,903	2,102,703	1,933,117	1,112,000	940,692	1,613,231	1,531,165		
South Atlantic.....	11,894,901	10,227,450	299,994	216,030	7,781,048	6,497,175	7,341,305	6,107,314	274,451	233,871	165,392	155,990	290,555	208,883		
East South Central.....	8,322,076	7,457,189	87,825	90,568	5,667,469	4,955,165	5,452,492	4,725,774	123,915	131,048	91,062	98,343	86,857	89,682		
West South Central.....	8,432,342	6,265,203	382,192	287,087	6,372,732	4,507,055	5,767,449	4,028,944	364,032	285,781	241,251	192,330	348,759	264,010		
Mountain.....	2,180,196	1,372,688	453,322	301,909	2,083,545	1,291,494	1,466,624	655,101	370,009	266,253	246,912	170,138	436,910	288,361		
Pacific.....	3,236,495	1,872,340	956,809	544,352	3,162,425	1,821,122	2,108,770	1,165,621	657,545	411,310	396,110	244,191	861,448	472,491		
NEW ENGLAND:																
Maine.....	681,809	601,192	110,562	98,339	629,692	599,291	494,907	463,083	73,455	68,206	61,500	47,903	110,133	92,935		
New Hampshire.....	333,906	323,481	96,667	88,107	333,348	322,830	230,231	222,614	67,601	53,282	35,516	26,934	96,658	87,961		
Vermont.....	306,035	298,994	49,921	44,747	304,437	298,077	229,382	225,381	30,507	38,239	35,548	34,457	49,961	44,694		
Massachusetts.....	2,307,171	1,959,022	1,050,346	846,324	2,273,876	1,929,650	1,108,439	1,032,364	846,620	660,694	323,627	246,062	1,051,050	840,114		
Rhode Island.....	363,469	294,087	179,141	134,519	354,467	285,278	159,821	144,986	144,270	104,087	50,376	46,206	178,025	133,772		
Connecticut.....	785,182	670,210	328,574	235,210	770,138	655,028	365,649	372,783	258,912	212,485	85,577	68,700	328,759	227,396		
MIDDLE ATLANTIC:																
New York.....	6,368,008	5,368,469	2,748,011	1,900,425	6,237,673	5,267,358	8,280,225	2,861,513	2,241,837	1,761,868	765,411	663,977	2,729,272	1,689,523		
New Jersey.....	1,876,379	1,481,785	690,788	431,884	1,787,706	1,382,267	1,009,909	826,973	576,011	402,893	201,786	153,401	658,188	430,056		
Pennsylvania.....	6,222,737	5,186,985	1,442,874	985,260	6,028,964	5,159,121	4,222,727	3,729,093	1,295,228	978,200	511,039	451,768	1,438,719	982,543		
EAST NORTH CENTRAL:																
Ohio.....	4,168,747	3,686,811	898,374	458,734	4,067,652	3,602,304	3,033,269	2,651,440	671,275	612,518	353,118	338,346	597,245	467,900		
Indiana.....	2,541,213	2,374,341	189,663	142,121	2,480,639	2,316,641	2,130,088	1,952,194	211,008	216,785	139,543	148,062	159,322	141,861		
Illinois.....	4,433,277	3,854,808	1,306,314	996,747	4,324,402	3,770,238	2,600,555	2,271,765	1,232,155	1,070,211	491,092	428,262	1,202,560	984,635		
Michigan.....	2,212,622	1,879,329	597,560	541,653	2,189,723	1,858,367	1,224,841	1,026,714	611,319	533,547	353,503	298,105	565,524	540,196		
Wisconsin.....	1,820,996	1,553,071	512,865	515,971	1,807,996	1,542,206	763,225	585,903	724,258	678,723	320,580	277,580	512,569	515,705		
WEST NORTH CENTRAL:																
Minnesota.....	1,532,113	1,246,076	543,586	506,318	1,516,217	1,232,101	575,081	425,780	667,460	597,800	273,676	208,321	548,010	504,936		
Iowa.....	1,961,006	1,925,933	273,756	306,920	1,936,707	1,912,885	1,308,526	1,261,068	395,541	419,123	236,640	232,694	273,484	305,782		
Missouri.....	3,063,556	2,890,286	239,779	216,379	2,906,086	2,729,068	2,387,533	2,204,874	312,027	319,110	206,174	205,064	228,096	215,775		
North Dakota.....	420,402	206,055	156,654	113,091	413,997	199,122	162,461	65,811	180,064	102,680	71,182	30,631	156,158	112,680		
South Dakota.....	483,098	313,062	100,790	88,808	463,143	292,385	245,652	136,191	143,045	110,915	74,446	45,279	160,628	88,239		
Nebraska.....	1,015,582	888,953	176,682	177,347	1,004,428	879,409	642,075	553,524	234,670	221,983	127,663	103,902	175,806	177,117		
Kansas.....	1,555,499	1,343,810	135,460	126,685	1,469,162	1,269,742	1,207,067	1,013,655	169,906	161,506	122,199	114,581	158,190	126,677		
SOUTH ATLANTIC:																
Delaware.....	184,830	170,925	17,492	13,810	183,682	140,248	127,809	118,029	17,866	14,767	8,307	7,452	17,480	13,789		
Maryland.....	1,190,402	1,094,110	104,944	93,954	1,085,465	989,280	766,627	680,049	130,321	119,188	61,517	60,043	104,174	93,144		
District of Columbia.....	306,167	258,599	24,902	20,119	211,777	173,012	106,711	124,073	26,522	22,449	18,544	15,490	24,361	19,620		
Virginia.....	2,034,555	1,834,723	27,057	19,461	1,963,181	1,173,787	1,823,238	1,141,213	21,613	17,099	16,330	15,478	26,028	19,098		
West Virginia.....	1,163,901	936,349	57,215	23,451	1,099,745	892,854	1,042,107	843,981	35,407	26,838	22,231	22,035	57,072	23,779		
North Carolina.....	2,200,195	1,889,318	6,092	4,492	1,494,509	1,269,200	1,485,718	1,250,811	3,896	3,321	4,965	5,077	5,962	4,394		
South Carolina.....	1,509,221	1,334,788	6,179	5,828	673,107	552,436	661,970	540,766	5,789	5,936	5,378	5,734	6,064	5,371		
Georgia.....	2,593,644	2,203,928	15,477	12,403	1,416,730	1,169,737	1,391,058	1,144,360	12,232	12,006	12,440	12,907	15,072	12,021		
Florida.....	711,986	504,710	40,633	23,832	409,792	278,076	873,967	254,032	20,146	12,267	15,690	11,777	33,842	19,267		
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL:																
Kentucky.....	2,249,743	2,096,925	40,162	50,249	1,967,896	1,812,176	1,863,194	1,678,413	76,523	86,236	48,181	52,527	40,053	50,133		
Tennessee.....	2,166,182	2,002,870	18,607	17,746	1,692,973	1,522,600	1,654,606	1,481,636	20,572	21,281	17,795	19,668	18,489	17,666		
Alabama.....	2,118,807	1,814,105	19,286	14,592	1,209,876	986,814	1,177,459	956,658	17,067	15,186	14,750	14,970	18,956	14,338		
Mississippi.....	1,757,344	1,543,289	9,770	7,961	776,722	633,575	757,233	614,067	9,153	8,345	10,336	11,163	9,399	7,625		
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL:																
Arkansas.....	1,557,403	1,297,278	17,066	14,289	1,114,117	930,394	1,077,509	897,668	18,387	15,199	18,221	17,827	16,909	14,186		
Louisiana.....	1,603,622	1,328,722	32,766	22,903	890,304	677,759	776,587	599,962	68,389	63,817	44,328	44,480	51,782	51,853		
Oklahoma.....	1,616,713	769,853	40,442	20,538	1,404,447	649,814	1,310,403	601,552	49,677	24,683	44,167	23,579	40,084	20,300		
Texas.....	3,654,604	2,869,353	241,988	179,357	2,964,864	2,249,088	2,002,950	1,959,762	227,379	182,582	134,535	106,744	229,084	177,581		
MONTAINE:																
Montana.....	281,340	176,262	94,713	67,067	268,936	163,910	162,127	92,937	68,006	46,246	38,203	24,727	91,644	62,373		
Idaho.....	283,016	137,168	42,578	24,804	278,794	132,605	203,599	89,851	40,075	23,373	35,120	19,381	40,427	21,660		
Wyoming.....	116,945	75,116	29,020	17,415	113,200	72,469	80,696	47,982	19,751	15,450	12,753	9,037	27,118	16,582		
Colorado.....	609,437	448,545	129,587	91,155	656,564	436,571	475,136	311,335	114,747	79,692	66,661	47,544	126,851	90,475		
New Mexico.....	304,155	181,665	23,145	13,625	281,940	166,946	255,009	149,029	14,410	9,677	11,921	8,240	22,654	13,261		
Arizona.....	155,589	98,698	48,765	24,233	124,644	70,508	82,468	44,830	26,117	15,468	16,050	10,212	46,824	22,305		

COLOR OR RACE, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE: 1910.



DIVISION AND STATE.	PER CENT OF TOTAL WHITE POPULATION.							
	Total.				Native.			
			Native parentage.		Foreign or mixed parentage.		Foreign born.	
	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900	1910	1900
United States.....	83.7	84.7	60.5	61.3	23.1	23.4	18.3	18.3
GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS:								
New England.....	72.0	74.0	40.3	45.4	31.7	28.6	28.0	26.0
Middle Atlantic.....	74.4	78.1	44.8	49.0	29.6	29.1	23.6	21.9
East North Central.....	82.9	83.3	54.4	54.0	28.5	29.3	17.1	16.7
West North Central.....	85.8	84.8	57.5	56.2	28.3	28.6	14.2	15.2
South Atlantic.....	98.4	96.9	91.0	91.1	5.4	5.8	3.6	3.1
East South Central.....	98.5	98.2	94.8	93.7	3.7	4.5	1.5	1.8
West South Central.....	94.8	94.5	85.8	84.4	9.0	10.0	5.2	5.5
Mountain.....	82.7	81.7	58.2	54.1	24.5	27.6	17.3	18.3
Pacific.....	78.6	79.4	52.4	50.8	26.2	28.6	21.4	20.6
NEW ENGLAND:								
Maine.....	85.1	86.6	66.9	71.2	18.2	15.3	14.9	13.4
New Hampshire.....	77.5	78.6	53.6	59.1	24.0	19.5	22.5	21.4
Vermont.....	85.9	87.0	64.7	65.8	21.2	21.2	14.1	13.0
Massachusetts.....	98.4	98.7	93.2	97.3	35.2	32.4	31.6	30.3
Rhode Island.....	98.6	98.1	90.0	94.6	38.6	33.5	33.4	31.9
Connecticut.....	70.1	78.4	36.0	41.8	34.1	31.6	29.9	26.6
MIDDLE ATLANTIC:								
New Jersey.....	69.6	73.6	36.0	39.8	33.5	33.8	30.4	28.4
New York.....	73.1	76.3	41.3	45.6	31.8	30.7	26.9	23.7
Pennsylvania.....	80.7	84.0	56.6	60.7	24.2	23.3	19.3	16.0
EAST NORTH CENTRAL:								
Ohio.....	87.2	88.7	65.2	65.3	22.0	23.4	12.8	11.3
Indiana.....	94.0	94.2	80.7	79.4	13.3	14.8	6.0	5.8
Illinois.....	78.2	79.6	47.1	48.0	31.2	31.6	21.8	20.4
Michigan.....	78.6	77.5	44.0	42.8	34.6	34.7	21.4	22.5
Wisconsin.....	77.9	74.9	32.9	28.5	45.0	46.5	22.1	25.1
WEST NORTH CENTRAL:								
Minnesota.....	73.6	70.9	27.9	24.5	45.7	46.4	28.4	29.1
Iowa.....	87.6	86.2	59.0	58.8	28.6	29.4	12.4	13.8
Missouri.....	92.7	92.7	78.2	74.9	16.5	17.8	7.3	7.3
North Dakota.....	72.6	63.9	28.5	21.1	44.1	42.8	27.4	36.1
South Dakota.....	82.2	76.8	43.6	35.8	38.6	41.0	17.8	23.2
Nebraska.....	85.1	83.2	54.4	52.4	30.7	30.8	14.9	16.8
Kansas.....	91.7	91.1	73.9	71.6	17.9	19.5	8.3	8.9
SOUTH ATLANTIC:								
Delaware.....	89.8	91.1	74.7	76.7	15.1	14.4	10.2	8.9
Maryland.....	90.2	90.7	75.1	71.4	18.1	18.8	9.8	9.8
District of Columbia.....	79.6	79.0	19.1	19.1	19.8	10.3	10.2	10.2
Virginia.....	98.1	98.4	95.4	95.7	2.7	2.7	1.9	1.6
West Virginia.....	95.1	97.6	90.1	92.2	5.0	5.3	4.9	2.4
North Carolina.....	99.6	99.7	99.0	99.0	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.3
South Carolina.....	99.1	99.0	97.5	96.9	1.6	2.1	0.9	1.0
Georgia.....	98.9	99.0	97.2	96.9	1.8	2.1	1.1	1.0
Florida.....	92.4	93.5	84.3	85.4	8.1	8.1	7.6	6.5
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL:								
Kentucky.....	98.0	97.3	91.9	89.9	6.1	7.5	2.0	2.7
Tennessee.....	98.9	98.9	96.7	96.2	2.2	2.7	1.1	1.1
Alabama.....	98.5	98.6	95.6	95.6	2.6	3.0	1.5	1.4
Mississippi.....	98.8	98.8	96.3	95.8	2.5	3.0	1.2	1.2
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL:								
Arkansas.....	98.5	98.5	95.3	95.0	3.2	3.5	1.5	1.5
Louisiana.....	94.5	92.9	82.5	78.1	12.0	14.8	5.5	7.1
Oklahoma.....	97.2	97.0	90.7	89.8	6.5	7.2	2.8	3.0
Texas.....	92.5	92.7	81.2	80.8	11.3	11.9	7.5	7.3
MOUNTAIN:								
Montana.....	74.6	72.4	45.0	41.1	29.6	31.4	25.4	27.6
Idaho.....	87.3	85.8	63.8	58.2	23.6	27.7	12.7	14.2
Wyoming.....	90.7	81.4	57.5	53.9	23.2	27.5	19.3	18.8
Colorado.....	83.8	82.9	60.6	58.8	23.2	24.1	16.3	17.1
New Mexico.....	92.6	92.6	83.9	82.7	8.6	9.9	7.4	7.4
Arizona.....	72.7	75.9	48.1	48.3	24.6	27.8	27.3	24.1
Utah.....	82.7	80.6	46.8	38.2	35.9	42.4	17.5	19.4
Nevada.....	75.8	75.8	47.6	42.7	28.2	33.1	24.2	24.2
PACIFIC:								
Washington.....	78.3	79.4	52.8	53.4	25.5	26.0	21.7	20.6
Oregon.....	84.3	86.3	63.6	64.9	20.6	21.4	15.7	13.7
California.....	77.1	77.4	49.0	45.9	28.1	31.5	22.9	22.6

¹ Includes Indian Territory for 1900.

WHITE POPULATION BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE: CENSUS 1910

found among the whites of native parentage a considerable number of people of Spanish descent, and in Louisiana a considerable number of Spanish and French descent.

While some of the other States in the last named group (5) have a large percentage of native whites of native parentage, it is to groups 1, 2, 3 and 4 that we look for special and interesting analysis and comparison. In groups 1, 2, 3 and 4 is comprised all the territory forming a part of and controlled by the Original Thirteen Colonies except Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, Michigan and Wisconsin. Arkansas is the only state included in these four groups the territory of which was not a part of the original territory of the Colonies.

The ten States (formerly nine) designated as the **Tennessee Basin group** (4) are so designated for the reason that with the exception of South Carolina and Arkansas, water that falls in all of these States flows through the Tennessee River. The Tennessee River, as it were, threads these States together, and is the one topographical feature that is common to all of them, except two.

The white population of all the **Tennessee Basin group** of States is more than 95 per cent. native whites of native parentage, except Kentucky, with 91.9 per cent. and West Virginia with 90.1 per cent. North Carolina is 99 per cent. native whites of native parentage. Excluding the 34,780 whites that constituted the foreign element in the four large cities of the State, Tennessee had 99 per cent. of its white population native white of native parentage. It should be remembered that native whites are persons having both parents born in the United States.

In 1910 the total population of the groups of states here designated as groups 1, 2, 3, and 4 was as follows:

(1) **The six New England States**; total population 6,552,681 of which 2,613,419 were native whites of native parentage, 3,867,095 foreign born whites and whites of foreign or mixed parentage, 66,306 negroes, 5,861 Indians, Japanese and others.

(2) **The three Middle Atlantic States**, viz., New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania; total population 19,315,892, of which 8,462,961 were native whites of native parentage, 10,417,491 foreign born whites and whites of foreign or mixed parentage, 417,870 negroes, 17,570 Indians, Japanese and others.

(3) **The three North Ohio River Valley States**, viz., Ohio, Illinois and Indiana, total population 13,106,588, of which 7,763,902 were native whites of native parentage, 5,057,918 foreign born whites and whites of foreign or mixed parentage, 280,821 negroes, 3,947 Indians, Japanese and others.

(4) **The Tennessee Basin group States** (ten, formerly nine), viz., Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee, total population 19,597,889, of which 12,436,092 were native whites of native parentage, 607,360 foreign born whites and whites of foreign and mixed parentage, 6,541,346 negroes, 13,091 Indians, Japanese and others.

The combined population of the **nine** states comprising the New England and Middle Atlantic States was 25,868,573, of which 11,076,380 were native whites of native parentage, 14,284,586 foreign born whites and whites of foreign and mixed parentage, 484,176 negroes, 23,431 Indians, Japanese and others.

The combined population of the **nine** states comprising New England and the three North Ohio River Valley group was 19,669,269, of which 10,377,321 were native whites of native parentage, 8,925,013 foreign born whites of foreign and mixed parentage, 247,127 negroes, 9,808 Indians, Japanese and others.

These combinations of groups of States each had a little more than 19,000,000 people. The total native white population born in the South and living in the South and in the North in 1910 was 19,671,391.

The **Tennessee River Basin group** of white people was 97 per cent. native whites of native parentage. The total white population in 1910 was 13,043,452 of which 12,436,092 were native whites and 607,360 foreign born or of foreign and mixed parentage.

As Virginia originally included what is now West Virginia it may be said that for the purposes of comparison, there are three groups of nine States here compared.

In the **Tennessee Basin group** there were 1,359,712 more native whites of native parentage than in the six New England States together with the three Middle Atlantic States.

There were in the **Tennessee Basin group** 2,058,771 more native whites of native parentage than in the six New England States combined with the three North Ohio River States.

Of the 607,360 foreign born and of foreign parentage living in the Tennessee River Basin group, 279,467 lived in Kentucky and West Virginia. So that the whites of the other eight States were 98.5 per cent. native, of native parentage. The small foreign element in the other eight States is composed principally of enterprising Jew merchants, who are found in practically every trading center.

The Federal Census of 1910 discloses that the native whites of native parentage in the six New England States constituted only 40.3 per cent. of the total white population of New England.

Potential Voters and Vote Cast in Congressional Districts and Grand Divisions of State, in Tennessee

Congressional District No.	No. Counties in District	Total Population of District	Total No. Males Over 21 Years of Age in 1910	No. White Males Over 21 in 1910	No. Negro Males Over 21 in 1910	Percentage of Negroes of Total Males Over 21 in 1910	Percentage of Total Average Presidential Vote Cast of Total Potential Vote	Percentage of Total Average Presidential Vote Cast of Total White Potential Vote
1	12	241,853	56,924	54,058	2,866	5.0	61.5	64.8
2	10	252,338	61,841	55,425	6,416	9.4	46.5	51.9
3	15	265,724	67,796	56,256	11,540	17.0	47.7	57.4
4	14	198,646	47,901	42,877	5,024	10.5	62.3	69.6
5	8	145,330	35,984	29,419	6,565	18.3	58.3	71.0
6	5	234,016	62,615	44,543	18,072	28.9	35.1	49.3
7	10	189,576	46,399	35,833	10,566	22.8	52.5	68.0
8	10	180,119	43,881	35,772	8,109	18.5	58.1	71.3
9	8	203,021	50,309	36,974	13,335	20.7	43.1	58.7
10	4	274,166	79,018	42,369	36,649	46.4	22.8	42.5
Total for State 96	—	2,184,789	552,668	433,526	119,142	21.6	46.5	59.3
EAST								
1-2-3-4†	51	958,561	234,462	208,616	25,846	12.8	53.9	59.8
MIDDLE								
5-6-7	23	568,922	144,993	109,795	35,198	25.0	43.9	58.1
WEST								
8-9-10	22	657,306	173,208	115,115	58,093	33.6	37.6	56.6
Total for State 96	—	2,184,789	552,668	433,526	119,142	21.6	46.5	59.3
Totals for Nine Counties, viz: Davidson, Madison, Haywood, Lake, Lauderdale, Fayette, Hardeman, Shelby, and Warren								
9	—	518,718	144,039	83,986	60,053	41.7	26.2	44.9

† Fourth District partly in Middle Tennessee

:: Census 1910; Presidential Elections 1908-1912-1916, and Gubernatorial Elections 1912-1914

Total Vote Cast for President	Republican Vote for President	Percent. of Total Vote, Republican	Democratic Vote for President	Percent. of Total Vote, Democratic	Republican Vote for Governor	Democratic Vote for Governor	Congressional District No.
35,431	24,371	66.2	12,002*	33.8	18,514*	10,742*	1
35,636†	24,587†	69.0	11,059†	31.0	22,911†	11,133†	
33,942¶	23,191¶	68.3	10,751¶	31.7			
28,486*	19,287*	67.4	9,205*	32.6	15,323*	8,142*	2
27,166†	18,323†	67.4	8,838†	32.6	16,888†	8,656†	
30,573¶	21,292¶	69.7	9,281¶	30.3			
35,495*	16,047*	45.7	19,343*	54.3	13,317*	15,855*	3
29,650†	13,550†	45.7	16,100†	54.3	13,424†	15,312†	
31,858¶	15,165¶	44.5	16,693¶	55.5			
29,436*	12,323*	41.9	17,200*	58.1	13,930*	14,906*	4
23,287†	12,374†	43.7	15,913†	56.3	14,517†	13,291†	
28,237¶	13,102¶	46.4	15,135¶	53.6			
20,476*	5,822*	28.4	14,868*	71.6	9,559*	12,720*	5
22,064†	7,174†	32.5	14,890†	67.5	10,197†	11,331†	
19,833¶	6,699¶	34.8	13,134¶	65.2			
21,790*	5,946*	27.2	15,885*	72.8	8,383*	14,677*	6
21,155†	5,105†	24.1	16,050†	75.9	8,479†	13,107†	
22,989¶	6,620¶	28.8	16,369¶	71.2			
24,840*	9,385*	37.8	15,547*	62.2	11,534*	13,919*	7
24,405†	9,655†	39.6	14,750†	60.4	12,195†	11,835†	
23,777¶	9,814¶	40.9	13,963¶	59.1			
27,167*	12,550*	45.5	14,702*	54.5	13,793*	13,257*	8
25,188†	12,622†	50.9	12,566†	49.9	13,069†	10,917†	
24,151¶	11,369¶	47.1	12,782¶	52.9			
24,097*	6,171*	25.4	18,006*	74.6	8,372*	13,044*	9
19,852†	6,864†	35.0	12,988†	65.0	8,797†	10,105†	
21,068¶	6,655¶	31.5	14,413¶	68.5			
21,935*	5,421*	24.6	16,544*	75.4	3,952*	20,394*	10
14,880†	5,009†	33.7	9,871†	66.3	4,264†	10,923†	
17,157¶	4,667¶	26.7	12,490¶	73.3			
226,505*	116,223*	43.2	153,282*	56.8	116,677*	137,656*	Total
248,293†	115,268†	46.4	133,025†	53.6	124,641†	116,610†	for State
253,585¶	118,574¶	47.0	135,011¶	53.0			
ESSEE							
128,908*	71,028*	55.3	57,730*	44.7	61,084*	49,645*	1-2-3-4
120,749†	68,839†	57.0	51,910†	43.0	67,640†	48,392†	
124,610¶	72,750¶	58.4	51,860¶	41.6			
TENNESSEE							
67,106*	21,153*	31.5	46,300*	68.5	29,476*	41,316*	5-6-7
67,624†	21,934†	32.4	45,690†	67.6	30,871†	36,273†	
66,599¶	23,133¶	34.7	43,466¶	65.3			
ESSEE							
73,199*	24,042*	32.7	49,252*	67.3	26,117*	46,695*	8-9-10
59,920†	24,495†	41.0	35,425†	59.0	26,130†	31,945†	
62,376¶	22,691¶	36.4	39,685¶	63.6			
269,505*	116,223*	43.2	153,282*	56.8	116,677*	137,656*	Total
248,293†	115,268†	46.4	133,025†	53.6	124,641†	116,610†	for State
253,585¶	118,574¶	47.0	135,011¶	53.0			
and Tipton, in which resided more than 50 per cent. of the Total Negroes in Tennessee: Census 1910.							
42,551*	10,506*	24.1	32,045*	75.9	11,821*	34,543*	
34,880†	10,371†	29.5	24,579†	70.5	12,325†	23,448†	
35,833¶	9,631¶	27.0	26,202¶	73.0			

Vote in 1916, Hughes, Rep.; Wilson, Dem.
Vote in 1912, Taft, Rep., 59,381—Roosevelt, Pro., 55,887. Total, 115,268.
combined and here designated Rep.; Wilson, Dem.
Vote in 1908, Taft, Rep.; Bryan, Dem.

FOR GOVERNOR
* 1914, Hooper, Rep., Rye, Dem.
† 1912, Hooper, Rep., McMillan, Dem.

It discloses that the native whites of native parentage in the three Middle Atlantic States constituted only 44.8 per cent. of the total white population; and that the native whites of native parentage in the North Ohio Valley group is only 60.5 per cent. of the total white population, ranging from 47.1 in Illinois, 65.2 in Ohio, to 80.7 in Indiana, while in the Tennessee Basin Group the native whites were 97 per cent. of the total white population.

The native whites of native parentage population of the entire South was 18,561,146. This was 37.5 per cent. of the total native whites in the United States.

This Tennessee River Basin group of 12,436,092 native whites of native parentage is the largest and purest single group of Anglo-Saxon people in the world outside of England.

Tennessee is the center of that group; and from the battle of King's Mountain in the American Revolution, to the battles of the Hindenburg Line in France, have gone, as from adjoining states, heroic men of spectacular achievement who have been an integral part of the hinges upon which has turned the history of the world.

THE IRISH LIVE IN IRELAND, THE SCOTCH LIVE IN SCOTLAND, AND THE ENGLISH LIVE IN ENGLAND. THAT PORTION OF AMERICA COMPRISING THE TENNESSEE RIVER BASIN GROUP OF STATES CAN RIGHTFULLY AND PROPERLY BE CALLED SAXLAND

CITY AND COUNTY GROUPS COMPARED

The cities in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois that had more than eight thousand negro population in 1910 were: Chicago, 44,103; Indianapolis, 21,816; Cincinnati, 19,639; Columbus, 12,739, and Cleveland, 8,448, making a total of 106,745—38 per cent. of the total negro population in these three States.

In the three cities of Tennessee, having more than eight thousand negro population, Memphis had 52,441; Nashville, 36,523; and Chattanooga, 17,942, a total of 106,906—22.6 per cent. of the total negro population in the State, and 35.5 per cent. of the total population in these three cities.

It will be seen that the three Tennessee cities, having a population of more than eight thousand, had 161 more negro population than the combined negro population of the five principal cities of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois—106,845. This 106,845 was only 3 per cent. of the total population of these five cities.

The total population of Shelby County, Tennessee, in which Memphis (population 131,105, of

which 40 per cent. was negro) is situated, was 191,439, of which 91,719 were negroes.

Excepting Washington, D. C., with a negro population of 94,436, there are more negroes in Shelby County, Tennessee, than in any city or county in the United States. In Shelby County the race relations are good.

The total population of Greater New York was 4,766,883, of which 91,709 were negroes. That is to say, there were in 1910, ten more negroes in Shelby County, Tennessee, than in Greater New York. There were 84,459 negroes in Philadelphia, having a total population of 1,549,008—7,260 less negroes than resided in Shelby County, Tennessee. The negro population of Shelby County, Tennessee, was 25,413 more than in all the six New England States combined. The negro population of Boston was only 13,564, out of a total of 670,585.

VIII.

NEGRO FACES SELF EXTINCTION

Twenty years ago, much was being written about the possible large increase in the negro population. It was predicted that it would not be long before the entire South would be half negroes. Statistics and investigations now indicate that these predictions will not be true.

Some of the negroes have migrated to the North, there to loiter on the ragged edge of industry.

The South is rapidly gaining desirable white population from the North who aid in increasing its wealth and developing its great natural resources. Many thousands from the North who received their military training in Southern camps and have seen the natural resources in the South are coming back. The South as a whole welcomes these migrations from the North and is satisfied; the North will have to be.

One of the most far-reaching effects of the Great War is the marriages between Northern men and Southern women, resulting from acquaintances made during the stay of Northern soldiers in Southern military camps.

Much has been said about the migration of the negro to the North within the past few years. If the tendencies for race reduction by high mortality and low birth rate is continued, as it was indicated by the 1910 Census, this migration will have a marked influence in decreasing the negro population of the United States.

From 1890 to 1900, the negro population of Kentucky decreased, and as stated, from 1900 to 1910 the negro population of Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri also showed an actual decrease. This decrease was in the total population. Whereas in Tennessee, the number of males over twenty-one years of age, showed an actual increase. there was a decrease in the total. This

fact is evidence that the decrease is to be found in a reduction in the size of the negro family.

Between 1900 and 1910, the white population increased more rapidly than the negro in each of the Southern States, where negroes are most numerous. Migration of whites to the South and of negroes to the North accounts, in part, for this difference.

High negro mortality, both adult and infant, and low birth rate among the negroes is perhaps the principal factor in accounting for this difference. In the South the only States where the negroes increased faster than the whites were Arkansas, Oklahoma and West Virginia. These increases can be accounted for by migration from other States.

There is a general impression that negroes have large families. The 1910 Census exploded that theory. This Census disclosed that, as compared with the previous Census there was a decrease in all the Southern States of negroes under five years of age. Various explanations have been given for this decrease, few of which are correct. The real reason is low birth rate and high infant mortality.

The reasons for this condition are economic, sociological, disease, hygienic, and migration. The negro race affords a great field for research by the biologist.

Miscegenation between whites and negroes has practically ceased. The younger negroes of school age show this.

Whether the intermarrying between the mulattoes and the blacks is affecting the birth rate of negroes is a question submitted to the biologist. To him is committed the statement of the Supreme Court of Missouri in the case of *State v. Jackson*, Vol. 80, Mo. p. 175; Vol. 50, Am. Rep. p. 499, which was as follows:

"It is stated as a well authenticated fact that if the issue of a black man and a white woman, and a white man and a black woman intermarry, they cannot possibly have any progeny."

Unquestionably, disease, sociological, and economic conditions are greatly affecting the negro birth rate.

Investigation discloses that in the territory within a hundred miles of Memphis, that is, in East Arkansas, West Tennessee, and North Mississippi, in which a large percentage of the population is negroes—part of the Black Belt of the Mississippi Valley—that there are few negro children, except in the hill counties of Mississippi. In 1910 the City of Memphis, having a total population of 131,105, 40 per cent. of which were negroes, the average number of persons per white family was 4.5, and the average number of persons per family among the negroes was only 3.5.

In 1860 the number of negroes in Tennessee under five years of age was 17 per cent. of the total. Fifty years later, in 1910, the number of negroes under five years of age in Tennessee was 11.9 per cent., while the whites were 14.2 per cent.

In 1910 of the total urban negro population in the United States, 8.5 per cent. was under five years of age, while the urban native whites under 5 years of age was 11.5 per cent. The total negro population was 27.4 per cent. urban. The urban population was 27.2 per cent. mulatto; while of the rural population only 18.5 per cent. was mulatto.

In Memphis and Nashville, Tennessee, and other Southern cities having a total population of more than 100,000, the average number of negroes under five years of age, in 1910, was only a little more than 7 per cent. of the total number of negroes. In all Northern cities having a negro population of more than 10,000, the average number of negroes under five years was about 6 per cent.

In 1910 there were 39 cities of 25,000 or more population which reported in that year a negro population of 10,000 or more. In each of these 39 cities, without exception, the proportion of children was lower in the negro than it was in the white population.

There were 57 cities in which registration of death statistics were available in 1910, and in that year the negro death rate exceeded the white death rate in each of these cities.

As it takes an average of not less than four persons per family to perpetuate a race, these facts would indicate that when the negro ceases to lead an agricultural life as a race, he dies. The conditions under which negroes live in cities are not conducive to adult longevity, and he is consumed in the white heat of industrialism.

So that what was once predicted, that the negro would outnumber the whites in the South within a few years, is absolutely without foundation at the present time. For the South losing negroes by migration, high death rate and low birth rate, is gaining whites to such an extent that the proportion between the negro and white population is increasing in favor of the whites. In addition to its normal increase in the Southern white population which is greater than the negroes, is also gaining whites by migration.

The acuteness of the negro problem has forever passed from the South.

IX.

NEGRO ALWAYS LOYAL, ENTITLED TO LEGAL PROTECTION

There are many groups of people in Europe that have never attained a position with living conditions that are near the equal to that of the Africo-American.

Much is said about the negro with a desire to be made "a man with a man's rights." By what standard shall he be measured? By the standard of the Hun, by the standard of the Japanese, by the standard of the Russian, by the standard of the French, by the standard of the Spaniard, by the standard of the Anglo-Saxon in England and America, or by the standard of the negro in his native country of Africa.

The trouble is, the Anglo-Saxon has set one of the highest standards for man yet evolved in all the ages, and the negroes are a race that has never evolved any standard, except that developed under Anglo-Saxon tutelage. Still representatives of the race insist that the Anglo-Saxon standard is the standard to which the Africo-American has arrived in a few years.

If the Africo-American as a race has accomplished in so short a time that which it is claimed by some, it would prove that the black man in racial development is superior to the white man. Such a claim of racial superiority has never been made.

The agitation for "Recognition" and to be "a man with a man's rights" comes principally from the mulatto. He is not to be blamed. Those to whom the claims are made should not be misled. In considering the political status of the negro it should be borne in mind that all the virtues and accomplishments, and also the misdeeds, of the mulatto, are ascribed to the negro race.

It is this agitation of the mulatto that causes the black man to fail in so many instances to receive the real recognition of the sterling qualities of citizenship and of a real man that commands respect, regard and confidence regardless of "rights."

However, many who are classed as mulattoes have no strain of European blood. Bancroft in his history, edition 1840, says many of the negroes brought to America were of a "tawny yellow skin." The descendants of these people are not properly classed as mulattoes, which term is generally understood to be a person who is partially of European blood.

There is no question about the faithfulness or patriotism of the negro. From the time that he fought and repulsed trained Hessians in the American Revolution to the days when he fought in the battles of civilization in France, he has shown his loyalty and patriotism. In the battle against the Hun he fought to protect his own American fireside and it was his privilege to aid in saving his kindred race in Africa from the domination of the Hun.

Because of the activity in the past of Northern agitators on behalf of the negroes against the Southern whites, it was believed by the Germans that they could stir up strife in the South among

the negroes during the world war. They operated principally among the rural negroes of the South and there made no headway whatever. The fidelity of the millions of negroes to their white neighbors is an everlasting tribute to the negro and white races of the South; and, is a rebuke to those who for half a century have been active agents of discord in the South. One of the greatest mistakes of Northern theorists in considering the negro is the belief that he is simple and easily fooled.

The great mass of more than the 8,000,000 negroes in the South have prospered, and are law-abiding: and they know that they are secure in their life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness among the Southern whites.

The seeds of Bolshevism may fall on fertile soil in the North but Bolshevism in the South, whether it comes from Europe or from Northern theorists, falls on stony ground, whether scattered among the great mass of negroes or among the whites.

By whatever standard he lives or is measured the negro is entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. He is entitled to life most certainly in that he should not be lynched. Lynching is a crime against both the white and the black races. It wrongs the black and debases the white man.

In the pursuit of happiness and the exercise of his liberty he has remained and will continue to reside among the Anglo-Saxon people of the South, from whom he has acquired a language, education, and property and has learned well, in spite of outside interference, the principle of loyalty to his fellowman.

There is then, a solemn duty and there is a fixed responsibility resting on the representatives of both races in the South, individually and collectively, to create a public opinion that will eradicate the evil of lynching and create better living conditions for both races. As the South is economically half white and half black, both races must recognize that there are reciprocal obligations resting on both races.

It is the actual living sentiment of the masses that must largely determine the relations of the white and negro races in the South.

X.

FUTURE PROGRESS OF AFRICO-AMERICAN INSEPARABLE FROM THAT OF SOUTH- ERN ANGLO-AMERICAN

Outside of the South there was no State in 1910 in which the percentage of negroes was as high as 5, the highest percentage being that for Missouri, 4.8. New Jersey ranked next in this respect with a percentage of 3.5, followed by Kansas with a percentage of 3.2. There were only three other

Northern States—Pennsylvania, 3.4 per cent.; Ohio, 3.1 per cent., and Indiana 4.2 per cent., in which the proportion of the negroes exceeded 2 per cent. In 18 of the 32 Northern and Western States, the number of negroes did not constitute as much as 1 per cent. of the total population, while in four States—New Hampshire, Wisconsin, North Dakota and South Dakota—the proportion was only one-tenth of 1 per cent.

In 1910 the center of negro population was located 5.4 miles southeast of Fort Wayne, DeKalb County, in the northeast corner of Alabama, near the Tennessee River. It has been within less than 40 miles of this point since 1880, and there is no reason to believe that the center will be north of the Tennessee River in 1920.

Notwithstanding all the influences that have been brought to bear to cause the negro to be unfaithful and disloyal to the people among whom he lives in the South, it is to his everlasting credit, individually and as a race, that the seeds of discord have had no effect, except in exceedingly rare and isolated cases.

When we consider the attempts that have been made for fifty years to bring about dissatisfaction among negroes and consider that the Census Reports show as a result thereof only a small percentage have migrated from the South, it may be stated, absolutely, that the economic, industrial, agricultural and governmental future welfare of the negro is bound up inseparably with the Anglo-Saxon people of the South.

The Southern born whites are more migratory than the negroes.

The government investigation on negro migration from the South in 1916-17 places the estimate at between 200,000 and 500,000.

In 1910 there were more than one million negroes in each of the States of Georgia and Mississippi. The more than two million negroes in these two States together with the negro population of Alabama and South Carolina, four million, constituted 40 per cent. of the total negro population of the United States.

In the four states of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, having a total population in 1910 of 8,000,000—4,000,000, 50 per cent.—of which were negroes, was produced in 1918, 47 per cent. of all the cotton produced in the United States, and one-third of all the cotton produced in the world.

If it should be announced that the white people of these four states would withdraw from the leadership of affairs in these states and turn the leadership over to negroes, before the sun went down on that day, there would be a financial panic as great as ever occurred in modern times.

Although the Anglo-Saxons are responsible for the maintenance of stable governments and business relations based on absolute confidence in these states, yet there are gimlet minded white people who seriously contend that the leadership in government should be turned over to a race that, through all the ages, has never established or maintained a stable and responsible government such as would develop, maintain and protect the people in their local affairs, and in their business relations with other parts of the nation and of the world.

However much the Anglo-Saxon people of the South may be interested in its own development, in its own education, in its own progress, and in its own uplift, the negro is as much concerned, if not more vitally concerned, in the development and progress of these Anglo-Saxon people than the Anglo-Saxon people themselves. For whatever progress the negro race has made has been under the tutelage of this Anglo-Saxon race. This will continue to be true as to the masses of the negro race.

There are people from Continental Europe in this country who have come here for the purpose of destroying this orderly government.*

It is the Anglo-Saxon of the South to whom the negro must look for guidance and protection from these organized forces of destruction.

Real negro representatives of the negro race are realizing this. The negro is interested in seeing that the dominant race be the most enlightened people possible, for it is through racial contact that the masses progress. The greater the economic advance of the Southern Anglo-American and the more intelligent they become the greater will be the opportunities for the negro masses.

So that the negro as a race, whether he will acquiesce or not, is interested in seeing that the shackles, that the fears, that the prejudices and activities that make for the continuation of a solid political South be removed. If the policies of government in the future are to have free debate and intelligent consideration and action thereon with a breadth of view by the whole nation, the racial attitude of the Anglo-Americans of the South must be conceded.

If the Southern whites are and shall have free determination in deciding questions of economics, transportation, telephone and telegraph problems and other vital governmental policies that will affect the industrial development and economic welfare of the Nation, and questions affecting the reconstruction of the whole National life, preju-

*Since this was written in February, 1919, several hundred aliens were deported in January, 1920. No other people would suffer more from such a destruction than the negro.

dice and passion must be minimized. When this free determination takes form, and action is taken in the interest of the Southern white man, wherever he resides, the negro will benefit thereby.

There appears to be a tendency on the part of Southern representatives in Congress to commit the Democratic Party to Socialistic doctrines that have their origin in the minds of races coming from Continental Europe. This is being done for the purpose of political expediency. With the Southern votes already in a bag, the Democrats are holding out the hand and catching the drift of the wind so that they will be able to control the National government.

The Democrats preach the doctrine of states' rights before the elections and after the elections have sought to commit this Nation to the extreme doctrines of Socialism at home and Internationalism abroad.

The Democratic party appears to be listening to the voice of the foreign born enemies of this government in America and in Europe.

In the mighty world struggle the voice of Continental Europe is trying to become the master voice in America.

Is it not time for the Republican party, regardless of what has been the policy, or what has been done in the past, to give some consideration to these questions? How long will the Republicans of other parts of the Nation fail to recognize that a continuation of the policies that made this possible may lead to disaster, from which it may not be able to recover?

Is it not time for the Republican party to wind up its self-imposed guardianship of the negro?

To abuse the Anglo-Saxon of the South that has racial cohesion and try to build a political party out of the Africo-American that has little racial cohesion, is to continue the Bourbon spirit of never forgetting anything and never learning anything new.

There is a question that concerns every man who has within him the spirit of a forward-looking citizen, and the interest and general welfare of the Nation from every standpoint at heart. It is, shall party political expediency result in the destruction of Anglo-Saxon fundamentals in government?

XI.

REPRESENTATION IN REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTIONS NOW MORE FAVORABLE TO UNNATURALIZED FOREIGN BORN RESIDENTS THAN TO THE NATIVE WHITES OR TO THE NEGROES OF THE SOUTH.

Of the total population of the 8 cities in the United States having more than 500,000 population in 1910 only 25.6 per cent. of the total population were native whites of native parents—37.2

per cent. being native whites of mixed parentage and 36.6 per cent. foreign born whites.

In 1910, there were 50 cities having more than 100,000 population; and, in only 14 of these 50 cities did native whites of native parents constitute as much as one-half of the total population. The proportion exceeded three-fifths in only four cities.

There were 179 cities having from 25,000 to 100,000 population in 1910 and among these 179 cities there were only 41 cities in which the native whites of native parents exceeded three-fifths of the total population. None of these cities were in the New England States and only one in New York.

Much is written and said about misgovernment in American cities. With only 14 of the 50 cities having a population of more than 100,000, with one-half of the population native whites of native parentage; and, only 41 of the 179 cities having a population between 25,000 and 100,000, in which the native whites of native parents exceeded three-fifths of the total population, IT WOULD BE MORE ACCURATE TO REFER TO THE CONDITION AS THE MISGOVERNMENT OF THE FOREIGN CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

The total population of the 8 cities that had more than 500,000 population in 1910 was 11,511,841. These cities were Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and St. Louis. The total negro population of these 8 cities was 396,615—less than 4 per cent. of the total population. The total population of the seven cities in the South having a population of more than 100,000 in 1910, viz., Atlanta, Birmingham, Louisville, Memphis, Nashville, New Orleans and Richmond, was 1,219,624 of which 369,688—30 per cent.—were negroes.

The total foreign born population of the cities of Chicago, New York and Philadelphia was 3,091,492 in 1910. Based on the usual ratio, more than 2,000,000 of this foreign born population were not naturalized in 1910. That is, the unnaturalized foreign born population of these three cities was more than the total population of the state of Tennessee—2,184,789.

As representation in Congress and in the Electoral College is apportioned among the several states and is based on residence and not citizenship, then the unnaturalized foreign born people that resided in the cities of Chicago, New York and Philadelphia have more representation in Congress and the Electoral College than does all of the people of the State of Tennessee.

As the proportionment of delegates to the Republican Convention is based on representation in Congress, then the unnaturalized foreign born people in these 3 cities have more delegates in the

COLOR OR RACE, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE.

COLOR OR RACE, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE IN CITIES OF 100,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE: 1910 AND 1900.

CITY.	Total population: 1910	NATIVE WHITE.				FOREIGN-BORN WHITE.		NEGRO.		Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and all other: 1910	PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION: 1910			
		Native parentage.		Foreign or mixed parentage.		1910	1900	1910	1900		Native white.		Foreign-born white.	Negro.
		1910	1900	1910	1900						Native parentage.	For. or mixed par.		
Albany, N. Y.	100,253	44,473	38,431	36,533	36,842	18,165	17,689	1,037	1,178	45	44.4	36.4	18.1	1.0
Atlanta, Ga.	154,839	91,987	47,146	6,464	4,486	4,410	2,458	51,902	35,727	76	59.4	4.2	2.8	33.5
Baltimore, Md.	558,485	261,474	236,033	134,870	125,225	77,043	67,940	84,749	79,258	349	46.8	24.1	13.8	15.2
Birmingham, Ala.	132,685	66,312	17,186	8,357	2,885	5,700	1,761	52,305	16,575	11	50.0	6.3	4.3	39.4
Boston, Mass.	670,585	157,870	146,183	257,104	206,937	240,722	194,953	13,564	11,591	1,325	23.5	38.3	35.9	2.0
Bridgeport, Conn.	102,054	27,156	21,885	37,314	25,603	36,180	22,197	1,332	1,149	72	26.6	36.6	35.5	1.3
Buffalo, N. Y.	423,715	119,692	90,860	183,673	155,716	118,444	104,010	1,773	1,698	133	28.2	43.3	28.0	0.4
Cambridge, Mass.	104,839	25,615	25,220	39,794	32,731	34,608	29,924	4,707	3,888	115	24.4	38.0	33.0	4.5
Chicago, Ill.	2,185,293	445,139	354,379	912,701	727,341	781,217	585,420	44,103	30,150	-2,123	20.4	41.8	35.7	2.0
Cincinnati, Ohio.	363,591	154,937	113,700	132,190	139,817	56,792	67,887	19,699	14,482	33	42.6	36.4	15.6	8.4
Cleveland, Ohio.	560,663	132,314	87,740	223,908	163,570	195,703	124,354	8,448	5,989	290	23.6	39.9	34.9	1.5
Columbus, Ohio.	181,511	116,846	75,036	35,578	30,007	16,255	12,292	12,738	8,201	63	64.4	19.6	9.0	7.0
Dayton, Ohio.	116,577	72,301	48,332	25,559	23,567	13,847	10,024	4,842	3,387	28	62.0	21.9	11.9	4.2
Denver, Colo.	213,381	106,945	66,810	61,185	37,837	38,941	24,962	5,426	3,923	584	50.1	28.7	18.2	2.5
Detroit, Mich.	465,766	115,104	61,309	188,265	124,215	156,565	96,051	5,741	4,111	99	24.7	40.4	33.6	1.2
Fall River, Mass.	119,295	15,858	14,300	32,125	40,197	50,874	49,961	355	324	83	13.3	43.7	42.6	0.3
Grand Rapids, Mich.	112,571	40,777	29,634	42,767	33,460	28,335	23,858	665	604	27	36.2	38.0	25.2	0.6
Indianapolis, Ind.	233,650	150,593	97,772	41,420	38,359	18,767	17,070	21,816	15,931	54	64.5	17.7	8.6	9.3
Jersey City, N. J.	267,779	74,861	57,197	109,101	87,152	77,697	58,161	5,960	2,704	160	28.0	40.7	29.0	2.2
Kansas City, Mo.	248,381	153,717	94,377	45,633	33,426	25,327	18,287	23,566	17,567	138	61.9	13.4	10.2	9.5
Los Angeles, Cal.	319,198	169,967	54,060	74,756	56,106	60,584	17,917	7,599	2,131	6,292	53.2	22.4	19.0	2.4
Louisville, Ky.	223,928	113,543	88,449	52,411	55,744	17,436	21,397	40,522	39,139	16	80.7	23.4	7.8	18.1
Lowell, Mass.	106,294	20,703	20,828	41,942	33,031	43,457	40,915	133	136	59	19.5	39.5	40.9	0.1
Memphis, Tenn.	131,105	50,985	36,556	12,128	10,755	6,467	5,069	32,441	49,910	74	45.8	9.3	4.9	40.0
Milwaukee, Wis.	373,857	78,823	48,598	182,530	146,885	111,456	89,948	980	862	68	21.1	48.8	29.8	0.3
Minneapolis, Minn.	301,408	96,186	61,269	116,548	78,861	85,988	60,983	2,592	1,548	144	31.9	38.7	28.5	0.9
Nashville, Tenn.	110,364	63,687	40,620	7,151	7,174	2,993	3,002	36,523	30,044	10	57.7	6.5	2.7	33.1
New Haven, Conn.	133,605	37,726	36,385	49,434	37,999	42,784	30,654	3,561	2,887	100	28.2	37.0	32.0	2.7
New Orleans, La.	339,075	147,473	103,186	74,244	76,191	27,686	29,560	89,262	77,714	410	43.5	21.9	8.2	26.3
New York, N. Y.	4,766,883	921,318	737,477	1,820,141	1,371,503	1,927,703	1,269,918	91,709	60,666	6,012	19.3	38.2	40.4	1.9
Manhattan Borough	2,331,818	344,351	312,307	818,808	715,917	1,104,019	789,714	60,634	36,816	4,480	14.8	35.1	47.4	8.6
Bronx Borough	480,880	92,569	60,833	188,146	86,438	118,935	61,553	4,117	8,370	213	21.5	45.0	34.8	1.0
Brooklyn Borough	1,634,651	375,518	310,601	663,683	438,648	671,556	363,750	22,708	16,367	1,166	23.0	40.8	34.0	1.4
Queens Borough	284,011	80,607	41,648	180,969	83,968	79,115	44,615	5,198	2,611	152	28.4	48.6	27.9	1.1
Richmond Borough	88,969	28,215	22,778	32,235	24,604	24,878	18,581	1,188	1,072	61	32.9	37.5	28.2	1.3
Newark, N. J.	347,460	94,737	71,552	132,350	96,506	110,655	71,050	9,475	6,994	252	27.3	38.1	31.8	2.7
Oakland, Cal.	180,174	85,198	24,790	49,936	23,775	36,822	16,223	3,065	1,026	5,163	36.8	33.3	24.5	2.0
Omaha, Nebr.	124,086	52,917	42,752	39,585	32,328	27,068	23,429	4,426	3,443	90	42.6	31.9	21.8	3.6
Paterson, N. J.	125,000	28,392	23,897	50,179	41,296	45,398	38,666	1,539	1,182	92	22.6	40.0	36.1	1.2
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,549,008	584,008	521,911	496,765	414,093	382,578	298,669	84,459	62,613	1,178	37.7	32.1	24.7	5.5
Pittsburgh, Pa.	533,905	176,089	147,296	191,483	168,832	140,436	114,845	25,623	20,355	274	33.0	36.9	26.3	4.8
Portland, Ore.	207,214	104,163	38,170	51,009	24,710	43,780	17,734	1,045	775	7,217	50.3	24.6	21.1	0.6
Providence, R. I.	224,226	59,966	54,423	82,354	60,775	76,303	56,310	5,316	4,817	387	26.7	36.7	34.0	2.4
Richmond, Va.	127,628	69,130	43,860	7,664	6,104	4,055	2,834	46,733	32,230	16	54.2	6.0	3.2	36.6
Rochester, N. Y.	218,149	74,525	52,478	83,687	68,798	58,993	40,718	879	601	65	34.2	38.4	27.0	0.4
St. Louis, Mo.	687,029	269,836	189,249	246,946	239,170	125,706	110,966	43,960	35,516	581	39.3	35.9	18.3	6.4
St. Paul, Minn.	214,744	61,694	42,454	93,398	71,562	56,524	46,748	3,144	2,263	84	28.7	43.5	26.3	1.5
San Francisco, Cal.	416,912	115,359	83,558	153,781	137,556	130,874	104,264	1,642	1,654	15,256	27.7	36.9	31.4	0.4
Scranton, Pa.	129,867	38,745	27,299	55,431	45,229	35,112	25,059	567	521	12	29.8	42.7	27.0	0.4
Seattle, Wash.	237,194	105,784	38,510	61,134	19,349	60,835	18,656	2,296	406	7,145	44.6	25.8	25.6	1.0
Spokane, Wash.	104,402	54,574	18,756	27,277	9,883	21,220	7,462	723	376	608	52.3	26.1	20.3	0.7
Syracuse, N. Y.	137,249	58,408	43,817	46,912	39,787	30,781	23,705	1,124	1,034	24	42.6	34.2	22.4	0.8
Toledo, Ohio.	168,497	75,147	52,222	59,383	50,128	32,037	27,729	1,877	1,710	53	44.6	35.2	19.0	1.1
Washington, D. C.	331,069	166,711	134,073	45,066	37,939	24,351	19,520	94,446	86,702	495	50.4	13.6	7.4	28.5
Worcester, Mass.	145,986	41,421	37,261	54,751	42,417	48,492	37,528	1,241	1,104	81	28.4	37.5	33.2	0.9

* Includes population of Allegheny for 1900.

Republican Conventions than has all of the people of the state of Tennessee.

In some states such as Indiana, a person who has lived in the state twelve months, in the county six months and has declared his or her intention to become a citizen of the United States, even though the application for citizenship may subsequently be denied by the court, such a person is entitled under the law to vote.

In 1910, the total foreign born population of the United States was 13,345,545; and those persons having both parents foreign born in 1910 was 12,016,311, a total of 26,261,856.

Be it always remembered, that while the great majority of the foreign born and those of foreign and mixed parentage were loyal to this government during the World War there were thousands who were disloyal; and, there were thousands who relied on the fact that they were aliens, and claimed military exemption, while real Americans went to Europe to fight for this country. Whether disloyal or loyal the unnaturalized foreign born are the basis for apportioning of representation as well as naturalized citizens and native white and black citizens of native parentage.

APPORTIONMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION.
 Ratios under Constitution and at each Census, 1790 to 1910, by States

STATE	RATIOS UNDER CONSTITUTION AND CENSUSES													
	Constitution.	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
	30,000.	33,000.	33,000.	35,000.	40,000.	47,700.	70,880.	83,423.	127,381.	131,425.	151,011.	173,901.	194,182.	211,877.
	Representation.													
Alabama.....				1	3	5	7	7	6	8	8	9	9	10
Arizona.....														
Arkansas.....														
California.....														
Colorado.....														
Connecticut.....	5	7	7	7	6	6	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5
Delaware.....	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Florida.....														
Georgia.....	3	2	4	6	7	9	8	8	7	9	10	11	11	12
Idaho.....														
Illinois.....				1	1	3	7	9	14	19	20	22	25	27
Indiana.....				1	3	7	10	11	11	13	13	13	13	13
Iowa.....							2	2	6	9	11	11	11	11
Kansas.....									1	3	7	8	8	8
Kentucky.....		2	6	10	12	13	10	10	9	10	11	11	11	11
Louisiana.....				1	3	3	4	4	5	6	6	6	7	8
Maine.....	6	8	9	9	7	8	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Maryland.....														
Massachusetts.....	8	14	17	13	13	12	10	11	10	11	12	12	14	16
Michigan.....						1	3	4	6	9	11	12	12	13
Minnesota.....									2	3	5	7	8	10
Mississippi.....				1	1	2	4	5	6	7	7	8	8	8
Missouri.....					1	2	5	7	9	13	14	15	16	18
Montana.....											1	1	1	2
Nebraska.....									1	1	3	6	6	6
Nevada.....									1	1	1	1	1	1
N. Hampshire.....	3	4	5	6	6	6	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	2
New Jersey.....	4	5	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	7	7	8	10	12
New Mexico.....														
New York.....	6	10	17	27	34	40	34	33	31	33	34	34	37	43
North Carolina.....	5	10	12	13	13	13	9	8	7	8	9	9	10	10
North Dakota.....											1	1	2	3
Ohio.....				1	6	14	19	21	21	19	20	21	21	22
Oklahoma.....														
Oregon.....									1	1	1	2	2	3
Pennsylvania.....	8	13	18	23	26	28	24	25	24	27	28	30	32	36
Rhode Island.....	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3
South Carolina.....	5	6	8	9	9	9	7	6	4	5	7	7	7	7
South Dakota.....											2	2	2	3
Tennessee.....		1	3	6	9	13	11	10	8	10	10	10	10	10
Texas.....							2	2	4	6	11	13	16	18
Utah.....												1	1	2
Vermont.....		2	4	6	5	5	4	3	3	3	2	2	2	2
Virginia.....	10	19	22	23	21	21	15	13	11	9	10	10	10	10
Washington.....											1	1	1	1
West Virginia.....											4	4	4	4
Wisconsin.....							2	3	6	8	9	10	11	11
Wyoming.....											1	1	1	1
Total.....	65	106	142	186	213	242	232	237	243	293	332	357	386	435

ALIEN CITIZENS PROBLEM

Tenth of American Population Is Unnaturalized.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12.—Approximately one-tenth of the population of the United States is composed of unnaturalized aliens, according to Raymond F. Crist, deputy commissioner of naturalization, who declared today that such a condition would not be permitted by any other country, and appealed to American citizens to help in making citizens of alien residents. He said there were 10,500,000 persons in this country who still retain their allegiance to the land of their birth.

"There are now 17,500,000 aliens in this country, yet barely 6,000,000 have become citizens," Mr. Crist said. "Such a tremendous unassimilated mass means danger, for among these millions comparatively few have any idea of or interest in the American institutions."

"It is our duty and our necessity to convert this multitude into loyal American citizens. By gathering in their own quarters in large industrial centers, they furnish a fertile ground for all sorts of propaganda opposed to American institutions."

"The war revealed that while the great majority of Germans in this country were loyal, there were, nevertheless, far too many German aliens who felt only hatred for the country that has so generously received them. It is time now to act to prevent any recurrence of this experience."—The Memphis Commercial Appeal, Feb. 13, 1919.

The foreign born unnaturalized population in the United States is greater than the total population of the new Republic of Austria; is equal to more than two-thirds of the population of Mexico; and is more than one-third greater than the total population of Canada.

Under the apportionment based on the 1920 census the foreign born unnaturalized residents of the United States will be counted in apportioning the representation in Congress.

The Constitution of the United States, Art. 1, Sec. 2, provided that "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons."

Under the 14th amendment the words "three-fifths of all other persons" were stricken out.

The number of Indians not taxed in 1910 was 71,872.

A QUESTION THAT CONCERNS EVERY CITIZEN OF AMERICA IS HOW MANY OF THE UNNATURALIZED RESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES VOTE IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS?

Based on the usual proportion, of the thirteen and one-third million foreign born people in the United States, there were more than nine million unnaturalized foreign born people in the United States in 1910.

The foreign born unnaturalized population in the United States is greater than the total population of the new republic of Austria; it is equal to more than two-thirds of the population of Mexico; and, is more than one-third greater than the total population of Canada.

Under the apportionment based on the 1920 census, the foreign born unnaturalized residents of the United States will be counted in apportioning the representation in Congress.

As representation in Congress and in the Electoral College is based on residence and not citizenship, these 9,000,000 people are represented in Congress and in the Electoral College. And as representation in the Republican Conventions is based on representation in Congress, then these 9,000,000 unnaturalized residents of the United States are represented in Conventions. Many thousands of these people are trying to destroy this government.

None of the Congressional Districts in which these foreign born unnaturalized people live have less than one delegate in Republican National Conventions, except one in Massachusetts and two in New York; while there are eighty-five Congressional districts in the South that will have only one delegate in the Republican National Convention that meets in Chicago in June, 1920.

There were then in 1910, at least as many, if not more, unnaturalized foreign born people in the United States than was the total negro population.

XII.

REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS BASED ON NEGROES IN THE SOUTH IS A PARTIAL CHECK AGAINST REPRESENTATION BASED ON UNNATURALIZED FOREIGN BORN RESIDENTS IN THE NORTH.

When the negroes were enfranchised and they were then counted in full in fixing representation in Congress and in the Electoral College this was in a measure a check and balance against the excessive representation in the North based on people who are not citizens of the United States.

Many of those who have become naturalized are Americans in name and legal formality only. These have believed they could more effectually

work to destroy the Government by becoming citizens.

There are those who have much to say against the South because of its representation in Congress and the Electoral College when taken in connection with the small vote cast.

To those it can be said that the people of the South, whites and negroes, are citizens of the United States; the Congress of the United States is not being asked to appropriate money to teach them the English language or to Americanize them, and there is no organization in the South with widespread ramifications having for its express purpose the destruction of Anglo-Saxon institutions and civilization.

While as to the North there is more representation in Congress, and in the Electoral College, based on foreign born persons who are not citizens of the United States than the total negro population in the United States; or, the total whites and negroes in the South who do not meet the suffrage qualifications of Southern States.

And, when the next congressional apportionment is made, based on the census of 1920, there will be representation in Congress based on several thousand persons, who were here during the time the census was taken in January, 1920, who have since been deported, if the government does its full duty, because they have been adjudged guilty of trying to destroy this government. There are none of these from the South.

A recent special investigation by the Department of Justice showed that there were no Reds in Tennessee.

Prior to the Republican National Convention in 1916, the Republican National Committee made a rule that if the vote for President or for the Republican candidate for Congress did not exceed 7,500 at an election during four years prior to the convention then there should be only one delegate to the convention from that Congressional district. The convention of 1920 is to be governed by this rule.

Under the rule there are four of the ten districts in Tennessee that have only one delegate. Three of these districts have a potential vote of 185,345, of which 117,286 are whites and 68,056 negroes. The vote for Hughes in 1916 in each of these three districts was as follows: 6,620, 6,655 and 4,667, respectively.

Under this rule the representation of the Southern States in the 1920 Republican National Convention is reduced 85 votes. The reduction in these States is as follows: Alabama 10, Arkansas 5, Florida 4, Georgia 11, Louisiana 8, Mississippi 8, North Carolina 2, South Carolina 7, Tennessee 4, Texas 17, Virginia 9.

The reduction in the 1916 Convention was 78.

There is no reduction in representation in the convention from any of the other states except 1 from Massachusetts and 2 from New York. This rule was made by the National Committee after the 1912 convention in which negro delegates were "used" to defeat the will of a majority of the Republican voters in the nation.

The rule has only been effective in one convention—the convention of 1916.

Every congressional district in the South should send two delegates to the Republican National Convention to be held in Chicago in June, 1920, and should insist on full voting privileges with every other congressional district in the United States.

In the Congressional Districts that select but one delegate and one alternate delegate to the 1920 Republican National Convention, the alternate delegate should be given full voting privileges with the delegate. This unequal representation should not be countenanced.

The organization that controls the Republican party should not be permitted to derive advantages from its misguided policies toward the South. Most certainly it should not have this advantage so long as the basis of representation for such a large number of delegates in the convention is based on unnaturalized foreign born persons.

The committee did not reduce the representation in districts where representation was based on unnaturalized foreign born population. The committee did not disturb the representation in the cities of Chicago, New York and Philadelphia.

The foreign born unnaturalized population of these three cities is greater than the total population of Tennessee. Yet the Republican National Committee has seen fit to maintain a policy in regard to Tennessee, and the entire South, and the negro race; and, to make a rule, the making of which was brought about by the maintenance of a policy that in practical operation reduces the total vote in the national convention of the state of Tennessee to less than that of the unnaturalized foreign born population in these three cities.

It will be observed that the total reduction in delegates from the states of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina is 36. Only one Congressional district in these four states is entitled to more than one delegate—the Ninth Congressional district of Georgia. This district is in north Georgia where there are comparatively few negroes.

The population of these four states is eight million—four million, 50 per cent.—of which are negroes. This is 40 per cent. of the total negro population in the United States.

None of the Congressional districts in Florida, Louisiana or Texas are entitled to more than one delegate to the 1920 Republican National Convention except the 14th district in Texas.

In 1910, the total number of negroes of voting age in the 11 counties comprising the 14th Congressional district of Texas was 5,278, of these 4,917 lived in the city of San Antonio, in Bexar county, and constituted only 10.4 per cent. of the total potential voters of San Antonio.

In 1910, the total number of negroes of voting age in the 19 counties comprising the 9th Congressional district of Georgia was 7,276; 4,324 of which lived in the three counties of Barton, Winnett, and Jackson.

These are the only two districts in Texas and in Georgia that have more than one delegate from any Congressional district to the 1920 Republican National Convention.

There is only one delegate from each district in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida and South Carolina.

In North Carolina, each Congressional district has two delegates except the 1st and 2nd districts. The 1st district is composed of 8 counties and in 1910 had 19,009 negroes of voting age. The 2nd district is composed of 14 counties and in 1910 had 23,331 negroes of voting age.

The total number of negroes of voting age in North Carolina in 1910 was 146,752; and, the total number of negroes in the 1st and 2nd Congressional districts, each entitled to only one delegate, was 42,340.

There are 98 counties in North Carolina and from these figures it will be seen that nearly one-third of all the negroes in the state lived in these 22 counties; and, that the 1st and 2nd Congressional districts are the only districts in North Carolina that are entitled to only one delegate to the Republican National Convention.

The comparison between these two congressional districts in North Carolina entitled to only one delegate and the only congressional districts in Texas and in Georgia in these states that are entitled to two delegates to the Republican National Convention is most significant, and should be convincing.

NOT ONE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS, IN WHICH ARE SITUATED THE SEVEN CITIES OF THE SOUTH HAVING MORE THAN 100,000 POPULATION, IS ENTITLED TO MORE THAN ONE DELEGATE TO THE 1920 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION. ALL THESE CITIES HAVE MORE THAN 33 PER CENT. NEGROES. EXCEPT NEW ORLEANS, 26.3 PER CENT., AND LOUISVILLE, 18.1 PER CENT.

Under the rules for holding the National convention, each state is entitled to 2 delegates-at-large for each representative-at-large in Congress from any state so that if the representatives in Congress from these states were elected as representatives-at-large instead of by Congressional districts under the rules for holding a convention, these states would be entitled to twice as many delegates as they are now entitled to, except in one district in Georgia and one in Texas.

Representation in Republican National Conventions is therefore denied the negro and the white citizens in the South on an equal basis with the other people of the nation. There are about the same number of persons in the North used as a basis of apportioning representation who are not citizens of the United States as are denied equal representation in the South.

This is a double injustice to the South.

XIII.

DESTRUCTION OF GOVERNMENT

The election and re-election of Victor Berger as a member of Congress from the fifth district in Wisconsin is an index to the mental attitude of groups of people in this nation toward Anglo-Saxon institutions.

The fifth Wisconsin district comprises nearly all of the territory embraced in the corporate limits of the city of Milwaukee.

In 1910, out of the total population of 373 of Milwaukee, there were only 78,823 of this population native whites of native parentage, that is, only 21.10 per cent. of the total population of Milwaukee was native whites of native parentage. Only 32.9 per cent. of the population of the state of Wisconsin was native white of native parentage in 1910. These facts should challenge the serious thought of all people in this Republic.

If the issue there made is permitted to follow its natural course, the institutions of Continental Europe as proposed by the Socialist and other parties, will cause Anglo-Saxon institutions and Anglo-Saxon individual liberty to disappear in this nation.

Current literature discloses that the Socialist, Communist, I. W. W., Reds, and other movements, are names applied to the organizations that have for their objects the destruction of Anglo-Saxon institutions.

A direct challenge is made, and the people of this Republic, regardless of their prejudices and differences in the past, should unite on a common ground to combat these insidious and destructive influences.

Those who seek to destroy this government advance plausible economic theories which appeal to the criminal, ignorant and thriftless, with a large and efficient bureau of publicity reaching all

classes of people, with our own government and people meeting these assaults upon our institutions almost without protest and with little serious effort to expose the movement and apply the hand of the law to these criminal agitators, no man can foresee what the immediate future in this country will bring forth.

The men and women who are back of the movement do not seek to better the conditions of any class of the people here. Their object as revealed is to break down industry, throw off representative government and create a condition of disorder and disaster which will accrue to their benefit in their ambitious scheme of industrial and political conquest.

One of the fundamental phases of American life today is the struggle between Continental European institutions and Anglo-Saxon institutions.

The theory of government and of the institutions in Continental Europe is that the individual is subordinate to, and exists for the benefit of the government or the institutions, while the theory of life, and of Anglo-Saxon government, and Anglo-Saxon institutions is that the government or the institutions exists for the individual.

We are to determine in America whether Anglo-Saxon institutions and Anglo-Saxon individual liberty is to be replaced by Continental European institutions coupled with a license for the individual to live.

XIV.

WHITES OF THE SOUTH REGARDLESS OF PARTY SHOULD SEE THAT EVERY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT IN THE SOUTH HAS TWO VOTES IN REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

More Anglo-Saxon blood was shed and more white treasure wasted over the liberation of the negro during the four years of war in America than all the negro races have shed and wasted for the liberty of their own race, or any other race, in all the ages of the world.

And, during the past fifty years more sectional hatred has been engendered in America and as many partisan demagogues, North and South, have risen to positions and places of power on issues based upon the negro race as in the same length of time ever cursed a people since the dawn of history.

For the Anglo-Saxon groups of people in this nation to continue to quarrel about the negro and to maintain a suspicion toward each other is one of the great weaknesses of this Republic.

A maintenance of a division among the native whites of native parents of this nation over this charred corpse of the Civil War encourages and lends aid and comfort to those who have come to this country with a hatred for Anglo-Saxon insti-

tutions and are seeking to destroy this Government.

The North and the South are mutually dependent for help. The right arm cannot say to the left, "I have no need of thee."

Excluding all questions of controversy and variance, they have a common history full of noble achievements, of successful endeavors in the cause of enlightened popular government, and have been incalculably beneficial to humanity. Neither section has been free from human frailties, from the errors and vices generated by selfishness and ambition and passion.

It is time to adjust the issues of the dead past and meet the struggle between the invading elements and ideas from Continental Europe and the fundamental ideas and institutions upon which this Republic was buildied with a united front.

The attitude maintained by the white people of the South toward the Republican party is bad for the South. It reduces the representation of the whole people of such districts in the South as have only one delegate in Republican National Conventions, in participating on an equality with the other parts of the country.

There are only three districts, except the districts in the South in which a large percentage of the population is negro, that have only one delegate to Republican National Conventions.

The Republican party has assumed a self-imposed guardianship of the negro and then has committed a grievous wrong against its ward. This wrong is committed because it appeals directly and specially to negroes for support and the great mass of the negro does not respond to the appeal; therefore, it reduces representation of the citizens both whites and negroes. The reduction operates in favor of unnaturalized foreign born in the North to whom the negro is a person of aversion.

Measured in the light of history the attitude of the negroes and the whites in the South is not new. The negro race, in no age, has ever shown any capacity or any interest in government, while the Anglo-Saxon race in all the ages of its history has shown and developed a peculiar aptitude for governing.

The Anglo-Saxons of the South do the whole people of the South an injustice in not polling enough votes (7,500) at least in every Congressional district in the South for a Republican candidate for Congress or for the Republican candidate for President to insure two delegates to the Republican National Convention; and, then sending delegates to the Republican National Conventions who will be real representatives and not delegates in name only. Such reduction in representation should not be suffered to exist even though the South continues Democratic.

The Republican National Convention and the Democratic National Convention constitute the machinery through which the great body of the people select a candidate for President; and, whether a person be a Republican or a Democrat in the South, all the people of the South should have a voice on an equal basis with the other parts of the nation in selecting the candidate for President.

Negro political activity in the South is very largely confined to a small number in each community who seek "Recognition" through the Republican Party for the purpose of using the Republican Party as a means for personal exploitation. They are "Republicans for exploitation" and do not commend themselves to the confidence of their own race.

By their activity their own race as well as the whites in the South are now on an unequal basis with the people of the other parts of the nation in Republican National Conventions.

By this reduction in representation the foreign born unnaturalized population of the cities of Chicago, New York and Philadelphia alone has more representation than do all the negroes, to say nothing of the whites, in the states of Mississippi and Georgia. The total negro population of Mississippi and Georgia is over 2,000,000.

XV.

THE GRAND FINALE

As conditions now exist the great mass of the negroes by their own efforts do not get representation. Through the efforts of a few negroes in the South, operating in conjunction with Northern agitators, there is created a condition by which neither they nor the whites get equal representation in Republican national conventions with the other parts of the nation.

The practical way that negro political activity works out in Southern cities greatly aids the Democratic party.

Northern Republicans give "Recognition" to an enterprising Southern negro and this gives him additional local prestige with his own coterie. This group then gets active for the Republican Party and seeks "Recognition" in county and State Republican conventions and on committees.

They stir up their friends. Negro employes of Democratic employers take half holidays so that they can attend the Republican conventions "for the good of the party;" and "supe in the mob scene."

There is great Party activity and everything goes well until "voting day."

On election day the Democratic employe, knowing who furnishes his bread as well as his butter takes a whole day off, and votes "early and

often." The word goes down the line through the local Democratic police department to "Vote 'em or ride 'em," and the lawless and near lawless, valuing their liberty, and having no desire to withstand the pressure; in the pursuit of happiness line up "for the party."

The Democratic papers scream "negro domination." The whites who have sworn that they would never vote for another Democratic nominee go to the polls. The whites who are Republicans from principle say "What's the use?" and stay at home.

Although the inside negro coterie may vote for Republican candidates the great mass of law abiding negroes go about their daily affairs in the pursuit of happiness caring nothing about "Recognition" and less about the ballot.

In the grand finale the leading man stands forth in all his "Recognized" Republican splendor, surrounded by his satellites, with an Aurora Borealis background.

The leading man gets his "Recognition," his satellites get their shekels, the "supes" have the good will of their Democratic employers, the Republican Party gets the Odium, and the Democratic Party gets the votes.

Then, some Republican Congressman from Indianapolis, or some other Northern city, introduces a bill in Congress for the benefit of his negro constituents in Bull and Buncombe counties to investigate Suffrage in the South.

WHITES OF WASHINGTON, D. C., DIS-FRANCHISED BY CONGRESS BECAUSE OF NEGROES.

In 1860, the population of the South was 10,000,000 of which 4,000,000 were negroes and 6,000,000 whites. Of the whites there were only about 350,000 slave holders.

September, 1919, was the tercentennial of the landing of the first negroes in the United States.

In September, 1619, a Dutch ship stopped at Jamestown, Va., and left 11 negro slaves who had been brought from the plantation of the Earl of Warwick on one of the Bermuda Islands. All of these negroes were later returned to this plantation.

The year of the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the first negroes in the United States was marked by serious negro race riots in the cities of Chicago and Washington.

In 1910, the total population of the city of Washington was 331,069, of which 94,446 were negroes, that is, 28.5 per cent, of the total population of the city of Washington was negro. And, in 1910 there were more negroes living in the city of Washington than any other city or county in America.

After negroes were given the franchise in the United States in 1868, for several years all the people of the District of Columbia voted. The political conditions and the corrupt municipal affairs of the city of Washington became so bad that the franchise was taken away from the people of the District of Columbia and a commission was appointed to run the affairs of the Capital City of the Nation. The commission is composed of three men appointed by the President. One is a Democrat, one a Republican and one an Army Officer.

Washington, D. C., then, is the anomalous city in free government and self governing people of all the world. All of the white people of the District of Columbia constituting three-fourths of the total population of the District are disfranchised because one-fourth of the population that is negro is incapable of self-government.

XVI.

MASS OF BLACKS WILL NOT FOLLOW MULATTOES

Those who derive much pleasure from hearsay and preconceived opinions about the negro; and, act thereon, appear to be entirely ignorant about the people in the South who are negroes. They act on a false basis of classification. The Federal Census classifies negroes as blacks and mulattoes.

The number classed as mulattoes in the Federal Census is valueless. There are at least three separate and distinct types of negroes. They are the mulattoes, who are persons having some Caucasian blood, and the yellow, and the black negroes. There are several types of blacks who are descendants of various black African tribes.

The yellow negroes are also pure Africans, who are the descendants of the African tribes of a "Tawny Yellow Skin," as mentioned by Bancroft. Many of the tribes in Africa today are of a "Tawny Yellow Skin."

Although negroes of a "Tawny Yellow Skin," a type of pure African, are generally classed in the census as mulattoes; they are not mulattoes in the proper application of that term.

The blacks constitute more than three-fourths of the negro population in the South.

Those who act on hearsay and preconceived opinions, in their political relations with the negro proceed upon the theory that to give political "Recognition" to a mulatto is giving "Recognition" to the great masses of the negro race. They appear not to know that the facts are that blacks will not follow mulattoes, nor will mulattoes follow blacks any more than will whites follow blacks.

The mass of blacks regard mulattoes as not full blooded, and being themselves a pure blooded people they prefer the leadership of full blooded whites and act accordingly.

Prior to 1860, the mulatto was specifically mentioned in the statutes of Indiana and Tennessee, and other states, as a person occupying a distinct status. The mulatto is as much a distinct type now as he was sixty years ago.

The mulatto is not to be blamed for taking advantage of the ignorance of a misguided Northern white man. The same can be said of the black.

Still leaders in the Republican Party continue to delude themselves and give "Recognition" to the mulatto, a type of citizen, however unfortunate his position, that brings to the Republican Party no strength from the great mass of negroes who are black, but brings antagonism from the whites.

"The people of the South may be oppressed by taxes; they may be misgoverned; the affairs of the nation may be mismanaged; they may believe that a Republican administration will be best for the country and for themselves from an economic standpoint, but they will not support a candidate, a ticket or a platform, no matter what it may promise, if to do so means that they must acknowledge the leadership of a negro. This is not an argument; it is just a plain statement of fact."—Editorial Memphis News Scimitar, February 2, 1920.

Misguided leaders of the Republican Party in the North have tried by statute law, by party fiat, and by personal acts to change the immutable laws of the human race. God Almighty has entered his decree in the great court of human relations and this decree cannot be modified, or set aside by the Republican Party.

WHITE REPUBLICANS IN THE SOUTH TRADED OFF FOR NEGRO VOTES IN THE NORTH

Unquestionably the reason certain Northern Republicans give "Recognition" to Southern negroes to the detriment of the Republican Party in the South is that in certain cities of the North, there are negroes who insist that this "Recognition" be given to certain negroes in the South; and this "Recognition" in the South is given to hold these Northern negroes in line for the Republican Party there.

That is, possible Republican success in the South is traded off by these Republican leaders in the North for local political advantage in certain Northern cities.

Certain it is, this recognition adds nothing to the strength of the Republican Party in the South and certain it is that it aids the Republican Party among the negroes in the Northern cities, just as negroes are sometimes brought into municipal politics by liquor Democrats in city elections in the South.

When negroes ask for "Recognition" in the North they are told that "Recognition" is given by a majority vote. Northern negroes being in the minority to the Northern whites, of course, there is no "Recognition."

Then these Northern negroes seek "Recognition" for their Southern friends. And, when Southern negroes are given "Recognition" then possible Republican success in the South is thereby traded off for the support of negro voters and negro ward heelers in Northern cities.

When the Southern negro is thus given "Recognition" he naturally thinks he is "honored." The fact is, in the language of General Sherman, he is being "Used."

"Used" to aid the Republican Party with negro voters in Northern cities; "Used" to aid Northern Republican leaders to control the National organization; "Used" in such a way as to retard the growth of the Republican Party in the South; "Used" by negroes for personal exploitation; and, "Used" many times in the past to further policies that have been, and are now, detrimental to the negro race.

Flattered by the illusory words "free and equal," the negro has been the political slave and a victim of those who have "Used" him; and profited by the natural political weakness of the negro race.

There are Northern theorists and Republican leaders who write of the racial relations in the South that "There must be a compromise. Both parties in this controversy must yield. The Southern white must give up his prejudices and the negro his mistaken ideas."

And, in the next paragraph say of the negro "As a race he lacks the foundation today upon which to build a successful future. He lacked this when he became a man, not a chattel, and instead of beginning at the bottom and acquiring the primary training and laying the foundation, he sought after the superfluities and attempted the superstructure."

With this mental state, these persons go forth to build a political structure in the South, one part of which, as a race, has a political foundation that runs down through the vista of the ages of history, and that has developed the highest type of self government yet evolved by man.

And, for the other part of the structure they seriously attempt to build with, and weld into, as an integral part of this structure, a race that through all the ages has never exhibited any capacity for self government. They attempt to build with a race that admittedly has mistaken ideas, which mistaken political ideas are not the spawn of the Southern whites.

What else can be expected from such persons when they also write in the same thesis, "We

have not investigated the negro's antecedents."

To say that "The Southern white must give up his prejudices" shows that such writers are ignorant of the political history of the Anglo-Saxon and is equivalent to saying "We have not investigated the Southern Anglo-Saxon's antecedents." The Anglo-Saxon in no age and in no part of the world has yielded or compromised his political prejudices.

A suggestion that the Anglo-Saxon must yield and compromise shows that such writers and leaders are not familiar with the history of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Such writing exhibits a triple ignorance. Ignorance of the negro's antecedents; ignorance of the Southern Anglo-Saxon's antecedents; and, the logical sequence of this ignorance of the antecedents of either the Southern Anglo-Saxon or the negro, is that such Northern theorists and Republican leaders are ignorant of the bi-racial condition in the South.

Action based on such ignorance of this bi-racial condition is a living death to the Republican Party in the South.

When considered in connection with the millions of unnaturalized residents and hyphenated citizens of the North, this ignorance, born of prejudice and superfluities, is a malignant cancer in American politics.

XVII.

ADVANCE AND INFLUENCE OF SOUTHERN WHITES OVERLOOKED

What then is the future of the Tennessee Basin group of white people that is more than 95 per cent. native white, and of the native whites of other Southern States?

In 1910, there were 12,436,092 native whites of native parentage in the Tennessee River Basin group.

Is it too much to say these Anglo-Saxon people have in them the force that will soon become highly commercial and industrial, and with an agricultural position secure, will soon exercise an economic influence that will be felt not alone throughout the Nation, but throughout the world?

Much has been written about the advancement of the negro race since emancipation, but comparatively little has been said about the advancement of the Anglo-Saxon people of the South.

Much has been said about the handicap under which the negro labored when given his freedom. As between the negro and the Southern white man, the negro had an advantage fifty years ago. The negro was the man who performed the manual labor. There were among the negroes skilled artisans who under the tutelage of their former masters were better able to earn a livelihood than the Southern white man.

The Southern whites were under the disadvantage of having had little or no training in pursuits other than general agricultural, and some commercial and professional training.

The things that tend to develop inventive genius and great commercial and industrial enterprises had been denied to the Southern white man, because through the crust of custom, public opinion would cause him to lose a certain position in the community, if he got his hands dirty performing the manual labor necessary to develop such enterprises. There was no dignity in labor.

To the negro, the door of economic opportunity was swung wide and never closed; to the Southern white man, as compared with the whites of the other part of the Nation, the door had never been opened, and those who desired and who had the inclination to develop inventive and mechanical genius, public opinion stood guardian at the door.

While much has been said about the migration of the negro to the North, little or nothing has been said about the migration of the Southern whites with inventive genius and mechanical skill to the industrial centers of the North. This is one of the most potent influences to be considered in connection with the future political tendencies of the Nation.

Few men who in the recent past have migrated from the North to the South take any interest in politics; nearly all who do so have become Democrats. It is second nature for a Southern man to take an interest in politics, and when the Southern men migrate to the North, a large percentage of them carry their Democratic policies with them.

So that, from a political standpoint migration of whites between the North and South, is favorable to the Democratic party.

A migration of negroes to the North is also favorable to the Democratic party, so long as the Republican campaign committee insists on doing for the negro race what it has not done for any other race. They have issued campaign literature for every one in general, including the negro, and then issued special campaign literature for the negro because he is a citizen and especially because he is a negro.

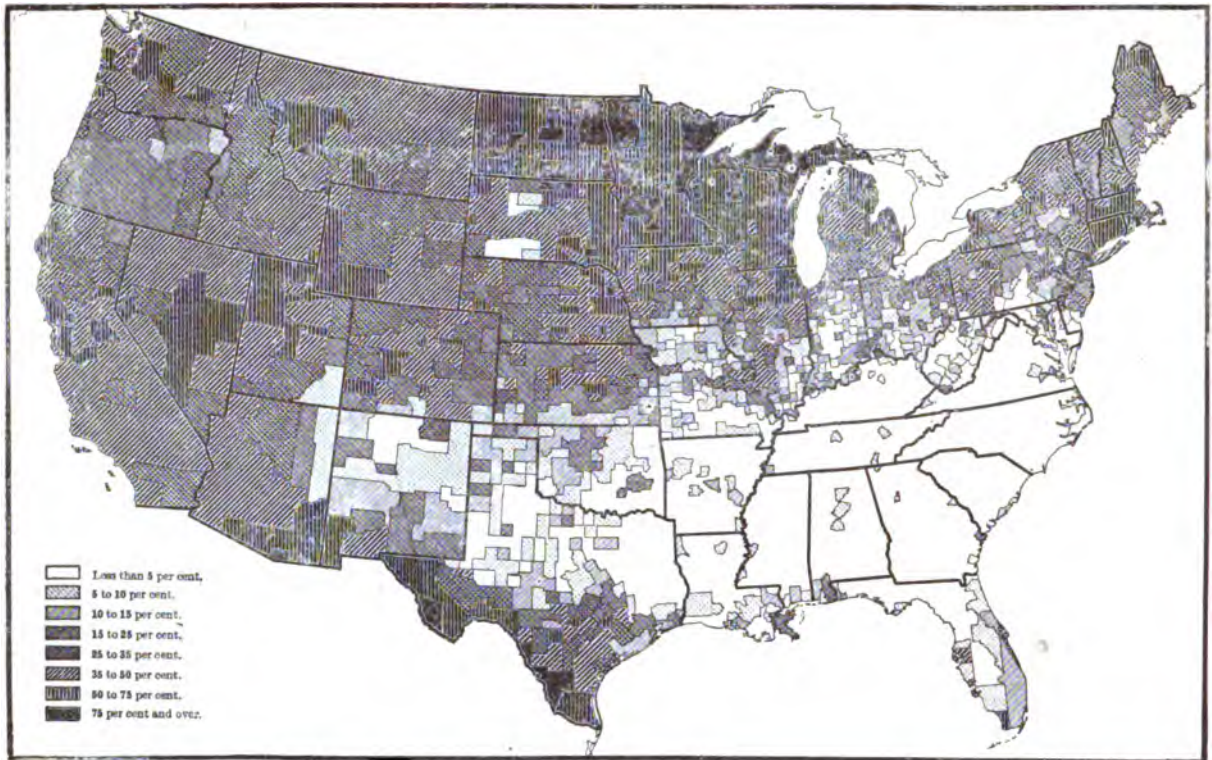
No race of people in all the ages has had as much done for it from a political standpoint as has the negro race.

If the Republican party had done one-tenth for the Southern whites in educating them to correct economic thinking, even though it got few votes, that it has done to make a voter of the negro, who knows no economics, it would have something to show for its work. Instead of having, as with the negro, a liability, it would have a potential political asset.

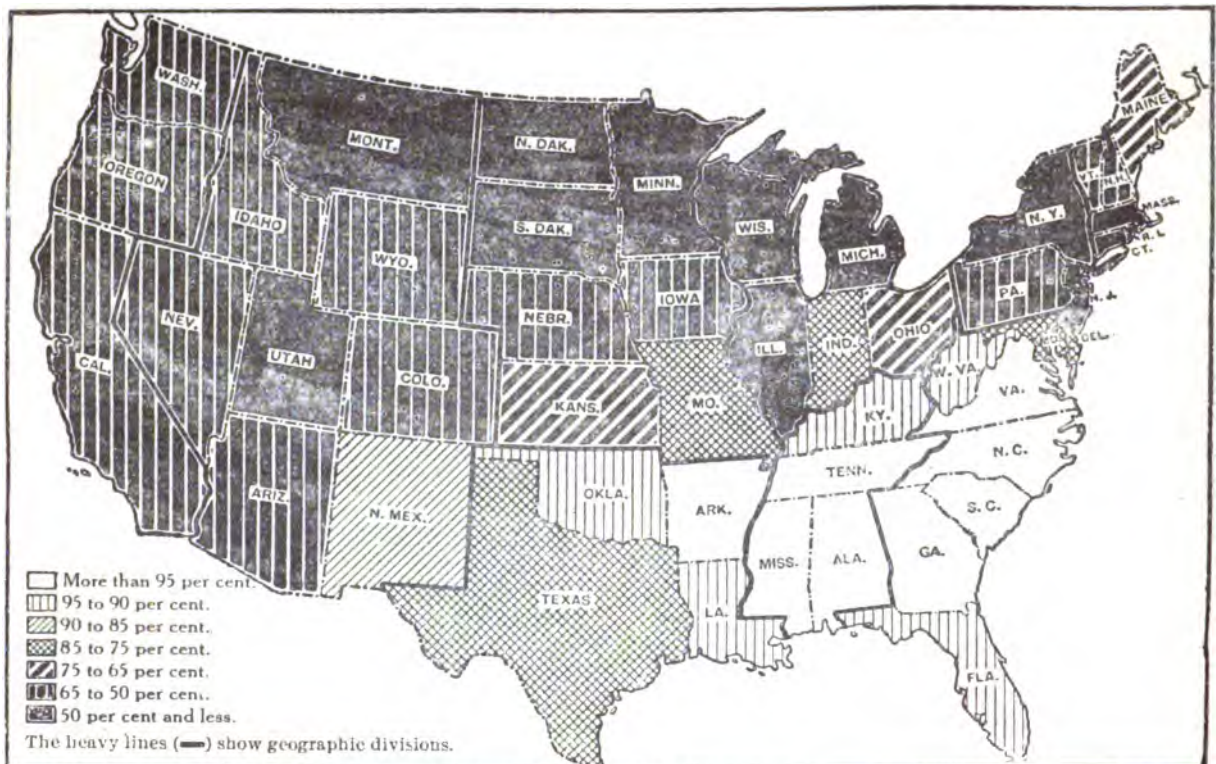
PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES AND NATIVE WHITES OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE COMBINED IN TOTAL POPULATION, BY COUNTIES: 1910.

Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910.

Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

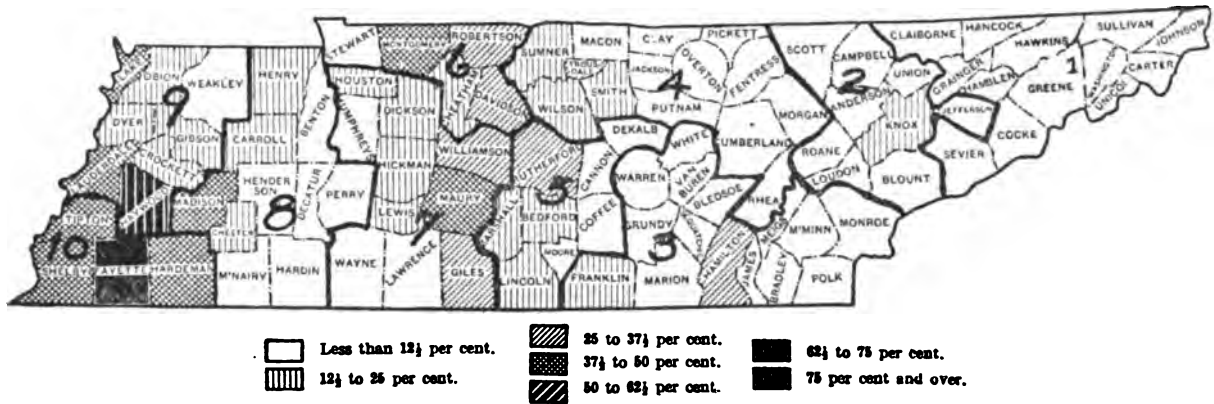


PERCENTAGE OF NATIVE BORN WHITES OF NATIVE PARENTAGE IN THE TOTAL WHITE POPULATION: CENSUS 1910



THE TERRITORY EMBRACED IN THE TENNESSEE BASIN GROUP OF STATES CAN RIGHTFULLY BE CALLED SAXLAND

PER CENT OF NEGROES IN TOTAL POPULATION OF TENNESSEE, BY COUNTIES: 1910.



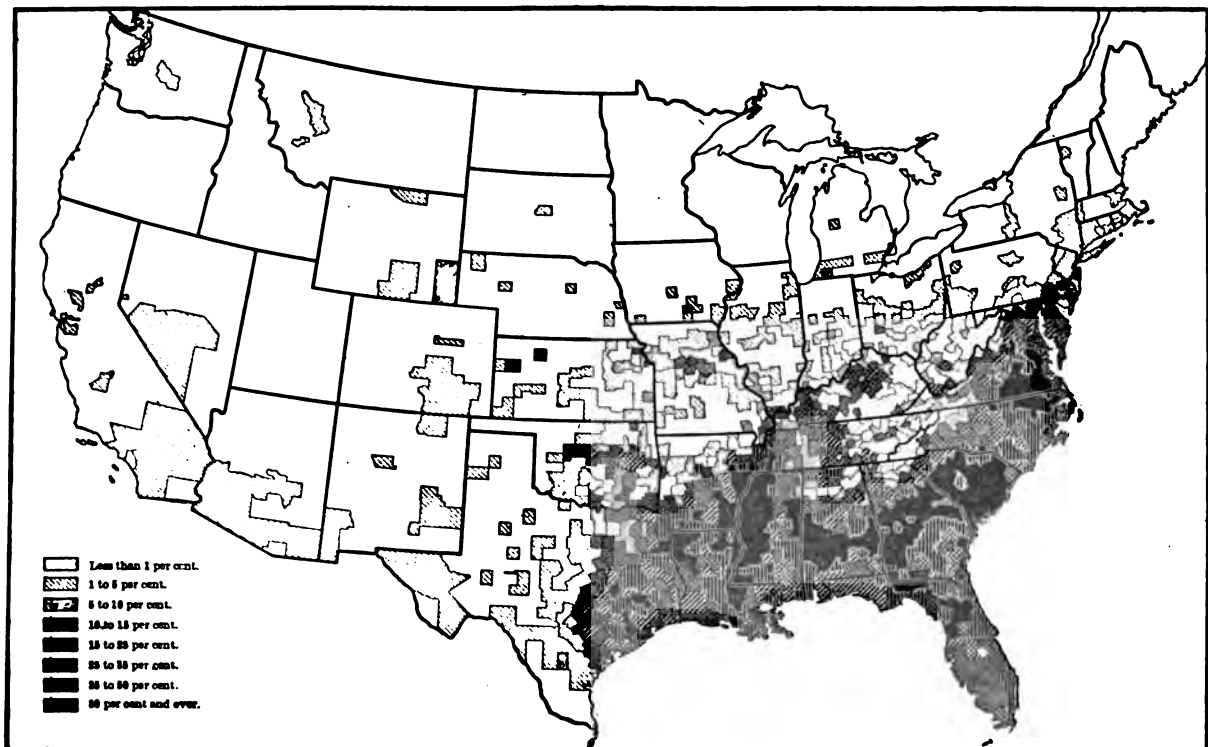
THE HEAVY LINES (——) SHOW CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT DIVISIONS

A greater proportion of the boundaries of Tennessee touch the boundaries of more states than does any other state

PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN TOTAL POPULATION, BY COUNTIES: 1910.

Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910.

Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.



XVIII.

**ANGLO-SAXON OF THE SOUTH A FUTURE
DYNAMIC FORCE IN THE NATION**

In the new order of things, the Southern Anglo-American is pushing the door of economic opportunity wide open. Within the past twenty years great strides have been made along this line, and though the South is essentially agricultural, as industrial enterprises are developed in the South the Southern white man is taking a hand in this development. Technical schools are training Southern men who are having a far-reaching influence. Seventy-five per cent. of the agricultural labor in the South today is performed by white men.

When the Selective Service law was passed, there was enacted legislation more far-reaching in its effect on the Anglo-Saxon people of the South than any other legislation enacted since this Nation was established. Through its operation men were taken from every hamlet occupied by this group of people and transported to Europe.

In none of those from America who traveled to the former homes of their European ancestors will this journey have a greater awakening influence, broadened their visions more, or as they return to their home folks have a greater enlightening influence than in those from the South. This is equally true of those who only passed through the training camps in America, where they acquired ideas by contact with their fellow-Americans. It came at a time when these people were acquiring economic freedom.

The man from the mountains whose only knowledge of chemistry has been the moonshine still and whose only knowledge of mechanics has been that of his trusted rifle; the man from the delta whose only observation of executive positions has been that of plantation management; and the man from the hills whose only contact with large commercial enterprises has been the general store where he bartered his produce; have each viewed the dominating positions of those who control commerce with their raw materials turned into finished manufactured products. They have gazed upon the white heat of industrialism.

A large percentage of these returning Anglo-Americans, who had never seen or known anything other than a life of agriculture, will never again be content to lead such a life. The white heat of industrialism has burned into their souls, and whether these men remain in the South or go to the industrial centers of the North and East, wherever they reside, they will have a most far-reaching influence on the Nation.

As in human nature the things that have been seen cannot be unseen, and the things that have been learned, cannot be unlearned, it will be found that this people who for generations have been called provincial, whose only university has been the open air of nature, and who has attended, for the past fifty ears, the greatest of all primary and secondary schools, the school of adversity, is awake, is alert, is dissatisfied; and with dissatisfaction the seeds of development, of progress, and of broad vision, so well known as a part of the innermost nature of the Anglo-Saxon race, have been planted, soon to grow into a mighty oak of many parts.

The man who passed through the training camps in America and Europe and returned from a journey to the home of his European ancestors to the fireside of his father, returned from the battle to save civilization, with those who only passed through the training camps in America, imbued with the spirit and a determination to build a new civilization.

The return with new ideas is welcomed by the men who remained at home and the women left behind, who have removed the mud sills of *laissez faire* and laid the foundations for a new economic life that will be far-reaching in its influence on the Nation and the world. All are imbued with a new spirit of independence, confidence, action and progress.

The leprosy of Bolshevism has no part in the mental make-up of the Anglo-Saxon in the South, whether he wore a uniform in Europe or only in America; or was a soldier between the plow handles or in the counting room. He will not be committed to communism. The virus of socialism that has inoculated so much of the proletariat of the North and East, will be in him a lifeless germ.

Anglo-Saxon individual liberty is a part of his innermost nature. His fiber toughened on the frontiers of civilization, through all the ages, has fitted him to resist these leprous germs. With his return to the pursuits of peace, and with his natural inherent desire for political discussion, and for political action, there is cause for him to turn and examine the theories and principles that are advanced by political parties and about which he should be enlightened.

He should be enlightened and be able to act intelligently thereon with a genuine sympathy free from false issues. The preservation of the fundamentals of Anglo-Saxon government and Anglo-Saxon liberty demands it.

APPENDIX

THE SOUTH TODAY

These excerpts are from "THE SOUTH TODAY," by Dr. John M. Moore, of Nashville, Tennessee, Bishop in the Southern Methodist Church. Copyright, 1916, by Missionary Education Movement of the United States, Canada and New York.

The Southern people, with all their pride in their Anglo-Saxon blood, their boasted heritage from noble leaders, and their marvelous record of progress during the last fifty years, are painfully conscious of their shortcomings and deficiencies. The upheaval of the sixties not only wiped out five thousand million dollars' worth of their property, but it destroyed the capacity for creating rapidly any large wealth. They had to go in want of the enriching implements of a great civilization.

They saw powerful educational institutions crowd the North, while their schools struggled and lived distressingly. They watched the growth of strong publishing houses in the North with their enormous output of great books, and the enlarging influence of fine Northern literary weekly journals and monthly magazines, while their own sections went without them.

They have not been unmindful of the marvelous Northern establishments that command wealth, and influence the national life. They have had to depend largely upon Northern capital to build their railroads and then sometimes endure harsh criticism because they were no better. But the Southern people have not been bitter, envious, nor ugly spirited. They loved and love the South with a devotion rarely known in any other people. They are wounded when it is criticised, but they know that criticism is possible if there are any who are inclined to expose their want and weakness. While the masses are not in poverty, in fact are comfortable, they are far from rich.

Many years will pass before there will be any large easy wealth in the South by which great philanthropy may be maintained and the needed higher institutions of learning may be established, equipped and maintained. Without them many who would avail themselves of the advantages which such institutions would afford must go lacking and only the few who can go North or East or abroad will be able to reach the great foundations of knowledge and power. These conditions will change as the nation's wealth, however held, becomes more and more available for the nation's South.

The South today is a thrifty, progressive and inviting section of the United States. The guiding influence in Southern progress has been distinctively Southern. The consciousness of inherent power equal to their responsibilities has possessed the people, and a spirit of self-reliance and commercial and industrial self-direction, without any show of arrogance, has become dominant.

In the morning of a new era the South stands confident but modest, knowing its shortcomings and capabilities, and realizing its possible mastery of both. Its people have their faces to the future, although they revere the past, honor the leaders of the old South, and hold in becoming veneration their heroes of the rostrum

and the battlefield. They are awakening more and more to the priceless value of the magnificent heritage that has come to them in the South's traditions and ideals, its natural resources, advantageous location, and vast possibilities of wealth and power.

Their temperament, spirit, manner of life, and mental attitude toward present-day issues give them an individuality all their own, but not such as to create in them any aloofness from the common humanity of their country. The people of the South are warm-hearted, reasonable, adjustable, and devoted to the sacred interests of their home, their country, and religion.

The South today is a learner in its own school and is generating light and power by its own machinery. It has felt the spell of the new sense of national responsibility and heard the call to produce and equip forces to meet the greater-world responsibilities; this has quickened the speed of its own progress, and energized its effort at the removal of its delinquencies and the remedying of its neglects.

The Southerner who really loves his South cannot fail to see that the day has come when the great currents of national life must have broad and free channels through the entire body of the Southern people.

The South has no problem, social or political, economic or moral that is not of national significance and of national concern. The South needs better, if not new, correlation with other sections, that the great currents of the new national life may flow more freely through all parts of this great nation. The new sense of national responsibility in world relations has created a new national consciousness which sends sectionalism to the refining fires to be fashioned into a patriotism adequate to any demands of the republic or humanity.

THE OLD SOUTH AND ITS WONDERFUL ACHIEVEMENTS

From the Manufacturers Record, Baltimore, Md.,
January 22, 1920

In the course of an address on "The Old South" at the annual banquet of the Daughters of the American Revolution, at Daytona, Fla., in January, 1920, Richard H. Edmonds, editor of the Manufacturers Record, among other things, said:

No other section of this or any other country has ever been so thoroughly misunderstood, and to a certain extent misrepresented, as the Old South. The South of ante-bellum days made history, but it permitted other sections to write history. The result has been that the South never has received credit for its own achievements. Even its own people have been taught in the histories written by the people of other sections more misinformation about their own country than any other people were ever taught about their section.

In the schools and colleges of the South, even of today, and among the people generally of this section, there is an impression that the Old South was a land of ease and

sloth; that its people were given wholly to agricultural pursuits, and that the planters lived in idleness, with but little real conception of the great world problems. Never was there a fairer view taken of any section. There is not a shadow of a foundation for such a position, but if you ask a hundred men in the South or in the North alike, probably 95 per cent. of them will regard that as a fair description of the Old South.

In colonial days the leading people of the South were largely given to industrial thought. Long before the Revolutionary War the South had developed a considerable iron industry, in this respect leading the whole country. It has been well said that the pioneers in Virginia, in Tennessee and in the Carolinas were born with a genius for iron making, and wherever they went they planted their furnaces and foundries. Washington's father was engaged in the iron industry, and Washington, as a civil engineer, laid the foundation of his greatness in war as in peace. Jefferson was largely interested in the manufacture of nails. Prior to the Revolutionary War South Carolina offered a bonus to all who would establish iron industries, and that State had a marked iron development which lasted until its complete destruction during the Civil War.

Up to 1810 the South was ahead of New England as a manufacturing center. When, however, the invention of the cotton gin made possible the development of cotton growing on a large scale, with a world hungry for cotton, the capital and energy of the South were turned from industrial pursuits into cotton growing. The development in the first half of that century of cotton growing interests in the South required greater skill, larger energy and a broader view of world requirements, and involved more capital than the development up to that time of the entire industrial activities of the Middle and New England States. Without question, the greatest business achievement of the first half of that century was the creation by the South of a cotton industry which largely influenced the politics and the financial interests of the entire world.

In 1842 the price of cotton dropped to an unprofitable figure, and the thought of the South once more turned quickly to industrial development, and during the decade between 1850 and 1860 there was a universal revival in the South of that spirit of industrial energy which had shaped the thought of this section prior to the invention of the cotton gin.

Indicative of the spirit of the South was the fact that the first locomotive ever built in America was built for a Southern railroad, and was named "The Best Friend," which indicated a realization by the people of the South of the tremendous influence which the railroads were to have in shaping human affairs. The first railroad built in America was built in the South. The first steamship that ever crossed the Atlantic sailed from a Southern port. The first iron building ever constructed was built in a Southern city. The first electric railroad ever built was built in the South. The first use of the individual electric motor to run a cotton mill ever made in this or any other country was in South Carolina, and was built by a Southern man. The first use of illuminating gas in the world's history was in a Southern city. The invention which made possible the opening up of the vast prairies of the West to wheat growing with which to feed America and Europe, the McCormick reaper, was the invention of a Southern man. Without that invention it would never have been possible to provide the world with the wheat absolutely needed for its sustenance.

Occasionally we hear people talking about the "New South," as though the New South were something en-

tirely different from the "Old South." The New South, or rather the South of today as I prefer to call it, is merely a rebirth of the Old South. It is but the natural and inevitable outcome of the work of the men who, prior to 1860, laid the foundation for the development of this nation. When glorying in the vast territory over which the American flag floats, we must remember that three-quarters of the area of the continental United States came under the American flag through the influence and power of Southern men then controlling affairs in Washington. These old statesmen were world seeing in their vision. It was through them that Florida and the Louisiana purchase and Texas were added to the Union. For the nation they bought land by the millions of acres and at a few cents an acre. They were the largest land traders, getting the biggest bargain that the world ever knew, and when we contemplate the marvelous area of the United States and its boundless resources we should ever give credit to the men of the Old South, who added 75 per cent. to the nation's area and a still larger per cent. to the vastness of the nation's resources.

One of the achievements of the Old South which should forever endear its work to every Christian is that it did the greatest missionary work ever done in human history. The South took millions of slaves, fresh from the barbarism of Africa, men and women who had never heard of the Gospel, many of whom were, indeed, cannibals, so low in the scale of human beings were they, and with a profound sense of responsibility to man and God so trained and civilized and Christianized these people that hundreds of thousands of them became devoted Christians, whose piety stood out conspicuously wherever they were known. These consecrated black men and women, converted through the work of the men and women of the Old South, made possible the extension of the civilizing and Christianizing power of the Gospel to millions of others. This is an achievement by the Old South which, under the providence of Almighty God, brought under the influence of the religion of Christ a larger number of converted men and women than all of the missionary work of all the missionary forces of the last century on all foreign fields ever accomplished. To the men and women of the Old South who, through the blessing of God, were able to accomplish such marvelous results unto His honor and glory we of this day and generation should forever give praise.

It is not surprising that after ten years of reconstruction work, from 1865 to 1876, in this section cursed by men worse than Bolsheviks, whose whole aim was to arouse the antagonism of the negroes to the whites, there was a great retrograde movement among the negroes. The carpet-baggers who flocked to this section for the express purpose of riding into power and looting the country through the votes of the negroes were worse than the Bolsheviks of today. The South had four years of what Sherman rightly called "hell on earth;" but it had ten years following that period of a condition infinitely worse than war. During that ten years the millions of negroes who had been docile, faithful, honest servants were taught to be vicious, were taught to do all in their power to destroy the white man and the white man's government. They were under the influence of the vilest sort of criminals that ever cursed the country, and these criminals flocked to the South like the Bolshevik teachers of Russia have flocked into America and like Trotsky and the other Bolsheviks whom we permitted to go out from America into Russia to overturn and destroy that government. Nowhere in Europe, except perhaps in a limited area of Russia, are

the conditions so bad as those that existed throughout the greater part of the South for ten years after the Civil War.

Many people in this country seemed very much surprised that Germany and its allies were able for four years to hold out against England and France and Italy and Belgium, and for the last year of the war against the United States. But they forget the fact that Germany had been preparing for war for many years. It had developed its strength to the last ounce of efficiency. Every movement had been definitely planned for years, and yet the allies never brought against Germany any such preponderating power as the Union brought against the South.

In 1860 the South had 6,000,000 whites and 4,000,000 blacks; the North had 20,000,000 whites. The South was without an army, without a navy, without guns or ammunition, without a financial system, and, indeed, without any of the power which usually is supposed to be essential to the making of war. Every port from the Chesapeake to the Rio Grande was blockaded. It was cut off from trade with the North and West. The Union, on the other hand, with 20,000,000 people, had the commerce of the world open to its ships. It had a navy and an army and a financial system, and it had the whole world at its back. Despite this situation, the South met these overwhelming odds, infinitely greater than Germany ever faced, and for four years carried on the unequal struggle. When it succumbed, and the "thin gray line melted into the dust," the South was in more desperate poverty than is France or Belgium or Italy or Germany. And yet it never cringed; heroically it met the struggle and against the tremendous odds of reconstruction days it re-established law and order; it rebuilt its civilization and saved this mighty sector to Anglo-Saxon civilization. While doing this it sent out from the central South—Virginia to Louisiana—entirely beyond the old Confederate States, nearly 3,500,000 whites, and out into Texas and the Far Southwest 1,500,000 more, thus giving its very life blood to the upbuilding of other regions. The drain of nearly 5,000,000 Southern whites upon the population of this section between 1860 and 1900 was the greatest drain any country has ever had to endure in modern times. The movement of population from the South was forced because of the overwhelming poverty of this section. There was no work to do, while the North and the West and the Pacific Coast were busy and prosperous and begging for workers.

The cost in men and money of this war; the cost of the chaos of the ten years from 1865 until the election of Hayes in 1876, vast as they were, were not as great a burden as was the drain of 5,000,000 of these whites, who left to find opportunities for work in other sections. Every other part of the United States has been enriched by the influx of population from the South.

ANGLO-SAXON SUPREMACY

"The Anglo-Saxon blood has dominated always and everywhere. It fed Alfred when he wrote the charter of English liberty; it gathered about Hampden as he stood beneath the oak; it thundered in Cromwell's veins as he fought his king; it humbled Napoleon at Waterloo; it has touched the desert and jungle with undying glory; it carried the drum beat of England around the world and spread on every continent the gospel of liberty and of God; it established this republic, carved it from the wilderness, conquered it from

the Indians, wrested it from England, and at last, stilling its own tumult, consecrated it forever as the home of the Anglo-Saxon, and the theater of his transcending achievement."

Henry W. Grady, Speech, Dallas, Tex., Oct. 26, 1887.

"It seems to me that all discussions of ways and means to prevent war and plans for combined nations must be based on a union in thought and heart of the Anglo-Saxon people."

Gen. John J. Pershing, Speech, London, July 17, 1919.

It is, therefore, pertinent to inquire who are the Anglo-Saxons.

In ancient times many different tribes, though not entirely Saxons fought and migrated under Saxon leadership. Of these various tribes under Saxon leadership those most closely associated with the Saxons were the Angles and the Jutes.

The Saxons were different from other people who have been by historians designated as Germanic.

When the Anglo-Saxons and Jutes came to England during the Fifth and Sixth Centuries, the Angles settled north of the Thames, and the Saxons and Jutes settled south of the Thames and on the north side of the Thames near London.

The Angles occupied the greater part of the island and from the land occupied by them, "Angle Land," came the name England.

The Cymry, or ancient Britons, who inhabited that part of the island brought under the subjection of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, like the Jutes, were absorbed in and became an integral part of the people known as Anglo-Saxons.

The Cymry called all of the conquerors of the island Saxons, whether Jutes, Angles or Saxons proper; and that part of the island which had been brought under their subjection "Saxdom" or Saxon dominions. And, so it is the Saxons from England are Anglo-Saxons as distinguished from Continental Saxons.

The Cymry were by the Romans called Cambrians and by the Saxons were called Welsh. The inhabitants of Wales today are the descendants of the people that inhabited England when the Anglo-Saxons came from the continent.

"The Welsh called themselves Cymbri, as a name attached to their descent, in the country they inhabited and the generic denomination of their race. Cumberland, one of their first conquests from the Roman province, was so called by the Saxons as the land of Cymbri, the Welsh 'y' having the same power as the English 'u' in Cumberland."—The Gael and Cymbri by Sir W. Betham, page 388 (1834).

So it is, that when the people from England came to the land that is now Tennessee there was with them an element to which the name Cumber-

land was a part of their ancient traditions, and, to a range of mountains, to a river, and to a plateau in Tennessee they gave the name Cumberland.

Evidences of the different types of Anglo-Saxons in England are found today in the dialects of North England and South England, such as the pronunciation of "clerk," "bath," and other words.

The Angles in North England suffered greatly from continuous invasions by the Danes and other tribes from Continental Europe, and it was under the leadership of the Saxon King Alfred that the Danes were expelled.

It was through the consolidation of the Heptarchy (seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms) that England as a nation was established.

Today a counterpart of the Heptarchy (seven kingdoms) out of which grew the English nation more than a thousand years ago is seen in the seven "SAXONWEALTHS" called: Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa, Canada and the United States.

While these modern Saxon states are not inhabited entirely by Anglo-Saxons, the governmental affairs of all of them are administered under Saxon leadership.

So much of the world has come under the direct influence of the Anglo-Saxons their history is of special interest.

In describing the Saxons, ancient writers and authors of modern times have said of them, "You see as many leaders as you behold rowers. for they all command, obey and teach," and, "Shipwreck disciplines, but does not deter them."

The Anglo-Saxons of the South have been shipwrecked but not deterred. The discipline of adversity, and the relation of the Anglo-Saxon with the negro race, has been a factor in developing the natural leadership of the Southern Anglo-Saxons to teach, to obey and to command.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SAXONS

The following excerpts are from "THE HISTORY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS from the earliest period to the Norman Conquest," eighth edition, by Sharon Turner, in 3 volumes, published in Paris by Baudry's European Library, 1840:

The Anglo-Saxons were the people who transported themselves from the Cimbric peninsula (part of Denmark in 1920), and its vicinity, in the fifth and sixth centuries, into England. They were branches of the great Saxon confederation, which, from the Elbe, extended itself at last to the Rhine. The hostilities of this formidable people had long distressed the western regions of Europe; and when the Gothic nations overran the most valuable provinces of Rome, the Anglo-Saxons invaded Britain soon after the Romans quitted it. The ancient inhabitants, and the progeny of the Roman settlers, disappeared as the new conquerors advanced, or ac-

cepted their yoke; and Saxon laws, Saxon language, Saxon manners, government, and institutions, overspread the land.

This revolution, than which history presents to us none more complete, has made the fortunes of the Saxons, during every period, interesting to us. Though other invaders have appeared in the island, yet the effects of the Anglo-Saxon settlements have prevailed beyond every other. Our language, our government, and our laws, display our Gothic ancestors in every part; they live not merely in our annals and traditions, but in our civil institutions and perpetual discourse. The parent tree is indeed greatly amplified, by branches engrafted on it from other regions, and by the new shoots, which the accidents of time, and the improvements of society, have produced; but it discovers yet its Saxon origin, and retains its Saxon properties, though more than thirteen centuries have rolled over, with all their tempests and vicissitudes.

Although the Saxon name became, on the continent, the appellation of a confederacy of nations, yet, at first, it denoted a single state. The Romans began to remark it, during the second century of the Christian era; until that period, it had escaped the notice of the conquerors of the world, and the happy obscurity was rewarded by the absence of that desolation which ambition poured profusely on mankind.

Saxons First Mentioned by Ptolemy.

Ptolemy, the Alexandrian, was the first writer whom we know to have mentioned the Saxons. By the passage in his Geography, and by the concurrence of all their future history, it is ascertained that, before the year 141 of our era there was a people called Saxones, who inhabited a territory at the north side of the Elbe, on the neck of the Cimbric Chersonesus, and three small islands, at the mouth of this river. From the same author it is also clear that the Saxones were of no great importance at this period; for in this peninsula, which is now (1840) divided into Jutland, Sleswick, and Holstein, no fewer than six other nations were stationed, besides the Saxones and the remnant of the Cimbric.

But it is not probable that the Saxons should have started suddenly into existence, in the days of Ptolemy. The question of their previous history has been therefore much agitated; and an equal quantity of learning and of absurdity has been brought forward upon the subject.

Europe was early occupied by the Kimmerian and Celtic races. The next stream of barbaric tribes, whose progress toward the second great influx of population into Europe, were the Scythian, German and Gothic tribes. They also entered it out of Asia. It is of importance to recollect the fact of their primeval locality, because it corresponds with this circumstance, that Herodotus, besides the main Sythia, which he places in Europe, also mentions an Eastern or Asiatic Scythia, beyond the Caspian and Iaxartes. As these newcomers pressed on the Kimmerians and Kelts, their predecessors, those nations retired toward the western and southern extremities of Europe, pursued still by the Scythian invaders. The new wave of population gradually spread over the mountains, and into the vast forests and marshes of Europe, until, under the name of Germans, an appellation which Tacitus calls a recent name, they had not only reached the Rhine, but had also crossed it into France. Here Caesar found one great body firmly settled, descended from them, whom he calls Belgae, though its component states had their peculiar denominations besides a very large force of recent German invaders, under the command of Ariovistus.

This second stock of the European population is peculiarly interesting to us, because from its branches not only our own immediate ancestors, but also those of the most celebrated nations of modern Europe, have unquestionably descended. The Anglo-Saxons, Lowland Scotch, Normans, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Germans, Dutch, Belgians, Lombards and Franks, have all sprung from that great foundation of the human race, which we have distinguished by the terms Scythian, German or Gothic.

The ancient languages of these nations prove their ancient affinity, the contiguous chronology of their first origin, and their common derivation; and afford evidences of these truths, from which every one may satisfy his doubts or his curiosity. We have works still existing in the ancient Gothic and Saxon, as well as in the Frankish and Icelandic, in which the philologist will easily perceive their mutual relationship. The comparison of these with the modern German, Danish, Dutch, Swedish and Flemish, will equally demonstrate the kinship between the ancient parents and their existing descendants.

SCYTHIANS IN ASIA

The first appearance of the Scythian tribes in Europe may be placed, according to Strabo and Homer, about the eighth, or according to Herodotus, in the seventh century before the Christian era. Herodotus likewise states, that the Scythians declared their nation to be more recent than any other, and that they reckoned only one thousand years between Targitaos, their first king, and the aggression of Darius. The first scenes of their civil existence, and of their progressive power, were in Asia, to the east of the Araxes. Here they multiplied and extended their territorial limits, for some centuries, unknown to Europe. Their general appellation among themselves was Scoloti, but the Greeks called them Scythians, Scuthoi or Nomades.

To this judicious and probable account of Herodotus, we add the information collected by Diodorus. He says, that the Scythians, formerly inconsiderable and few, possessed a narrow region on the Araxes; but, by degrees, they became more powerful in numbers and in courage. They extended their boundaries on all sides; till at last they raised their nation to great empire and glory.

One of their kings becoming vallant and skillful in the art of war, they added to their territory the mountainous regions about Caucasus, and also the plains toward the ocean, and the Palus Maeotis, with the other regions near the Tanaiis. In the course of time they subdued many nations, between the Caspian and the Maeotis, and beyond the Tanais. Thus, according to Diodorus, the nation increased, and had kings worthy of remembrance. The Sakai, the Massagetai, and the Arimaspoi, drew their origin from them.

The Massagetai seem to have been the most eastern branch of the Scythian nation. Wars arising between them and the other Scythic tribes, an emigration from the latter took place according to the account which Herodotus selects, as in his opinion the most authentic, which occasioned their entrance into Europe. Such feuds and wars have contributed, more than any other cause, to disperse through the world its uncivilized inhabitants.

SCYTHIANS ENTER EUROPE

The emigrating Scythians crossed the Araxes, passed out of Asia, and invading the Kimmerians, suddenly appeared in Europe in the seventh century before the Christian era. Part of the Kimmerians flying into Asia Minor, some of the Scythian hordes pursued them; but

turning in a direction different from that which the Kimmerians traversed, they missed their intended prey and fell unintentionally upon the Medes. They defeated the Medes, pressed on toward Egypt, and governed those parts of Asia for twenty-eight years, till Cyaxares, the king of Media, at last expelled them.

The Scythian tribes, however, continued to flock into Europe; and, in the reign of Darius, their European colonies were sufficiently numerous and celebrated to excite the ambition of the Persian monarch, after his capture of Babylon; but all his efforts against them failed. In the time of Herodotus, they had gained an important footing in Europe. They seem to have spread into it, from the Tanais to the Danube, and to have then taken a westerly direction; but their kindred colonies, in Thrace, had extended also to the south. Their most northward ramification in Europe was the tribe of the Roxolani, who dwelt above the Borysthenes, the modern Dnieper.

It would be impertinent to the great subject of this history, to engage in a minuter discussion of the Scythian tribes. They have become better known to us, in recent periods, under the name of Getae and Goths, the most celebrated of their branches.

As they spread over Europe, the Kimmerian and Celtic population retired toward the west and south. In the days of Caesar the most advanced tribes of the Scythian, or Gothic race, were known to the Romans under the name of Germans. They occupied all the continent but the Cimbric peninsula, and had reached and even passed the Rhine. One of their divisions, the Belgae, had for some time established themselves in Flanders and part of France, and another body, under Ariovistus, were attempting a similar settlement near the center of Gaul, which Caesar prevented. It is most probable that the Belgae in Britain were descendants of colonists or invaders from the Belgae in Flanders and Gaul.

The names Scythians and Scoloti were, like Galli and Kimmerians, not so much local as generic appellations. The different tribes of the Scythians, like those of the Kimmerians and Gauls, had their peculiar distinctive denominations.

THE SAKAISUNA PROBABLY THE SAXONS

The Saxons were a German or Teutonic; that is, a Gothic or Scythian tribe; and of the various Scythian nations which have been recorded, the Sakai, or Sacae, are the people from whom the descent of the Saxons may be inferred, with the least violation of probability. Sakai-suna, or the sons of the Sakai, abbreviated into Saksun, which is the same sound as Saxon, seems a reasonable etymology of the word Saxon. The Sakai, who in Latin are called Sacae, were an important branch of the Scythian nation. They were so celebrated, that the Persians called all the Scythians by the name of Sacae; and Pliny, who mentions this, remarks them among the most distinguished people of Scythia. Strabo places them eastward of the Caspian, and states them to have made many incursions on the Kimmerians and Treres, both far and near. They seized Bactriana, and the most fertile part of Armenia, which, from them, derived the name Sakasina; they defeated Cyrus; and they reached the Cappadoces on the Euxine. This important fact of a part of Armenia having been named Sakasina, is mentioned by Strabo in another place; and seems to give a geographical locality to our primeval ancestors, and to account for the Persian words that occur in the Saxon language as they must have come into Armenia from the northern regions of Persia. (Is it the call of the blood that causes the Anglo-Saxons of America to heed the Armenian cry for aid?)

That some of the divisions of this people were really called Sakasuna, is obvious from Pliny; for he says, that the Sakai, who settled in Armenia, were named Sacassani, which is but Sakasuna, spelt by a person unacquainted with the meaning of the combined words. And the name Sacasena, which they gave to the part of Armenia they occupied, is nearly the same sound as Saxonia. It is also important to remark, that Ptolemy mentions a Scythian people, sprung from the Sakai, by the name of Saxones. If the Sakai, who reached Armenia, were called Sacassani, they may have traversed Europe with the same appellation; which being pronounced by the Romans from them, and then reduced to writing from their pronunciation, may have been spelt with the x instead of the ks, and thus Saxones would not be a greater variation from Sacassani or Saksuna, than we find between French, François, Franci, or between Spain, Espagne, and Hispania.

It is not at all improbable, but that some of these marauding Sakai, or Sacassani, were gradually propelled to the western coasts of Europe, on which they were found by Ptolemy, and from which they molested the Roman Empire, in the third century of our era. There was a people called Saxoi, on the Euxine, according to Stephanus. We may consider these also as a nation of the same parentage, who, in the wanderings of the Sakai from Asia to the German Ocean, were left on the Euxine, as others had chosen to occupy Armenia. We may here recollect the traditional descent of Odin preserved by Snorre in the Edda and his history. This great ancestor of the Saxon and Scandinavian Chieftains is represented to have migrated from a city, on the east of the Tanais called Asgard, and a country called Asaland, which imply the city and land of the Asae or Asians. The cause of this movement was the progress of the Romans. Odin is stated to have moved first into Russia, and thence into Saxony. This is not improbable. The wars between the Romans and Mithridates involved and shook most of the barbaric nations in these parts, and may have excited the desire, and imposed the necessity of a westerly or European emigration.

As the ramifications of the Scythians, Saxons and Goths spread toward the Germanic Ocean, the Slavonic hordes flowed after them from Asia. The Saxon was one of the Gothic states, and it was as far west as the Elbe in the day of Ptolemy. The Saxons were, therefore, in all likelihood, as ancient visitors of Europe as any other Gothic tribe. Their situation seems to indicate that they moved among the foremost columns of the second great emigration into Europe.

The ancient Saxon standard on the continent was the representation of A LION and A DRAGON with AN EAGLE FLYING ABOVE; intended to be symbols of their bravery, prudence and rapidity.

The Infant state of the Saxon people, when the Romans first observed them, exhibited nothing from which human sagacity would have predicted greatness. A territory, on the neck of the Cimbric Chersonesus (part of Denmark in 1920) and three small islands, contained those whose descendants occupy the circle of Westphalia, the electorate of Saxony, the British Islands, the United States of North America, and the British colonies in the two Indies. (Since this was written in 1840, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa have become great Saxon States.)

Such is the course of Providence, that empires the most extended, and the most formidable, are found to vanish as the morning mist; while tribes scarcely visible, or contemptuously overlooked, like the springs of a mighty river, often glide on gradually to greatness and veneration.

“Though ages long have past
Since our Fathers left their home
Their pilot in the blast,
Over untraveled seas to roam,
Yet lives the blood of Saxons in our Veins.”
—Washington Allston.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NEGRO

When negroes were being brought from Africa to America “a single ship might be composed of persons of different languages, and of nations altogether strange to each other. Nor was there uniformity of complexion of those brought to our country; some were from tribes of which the skin was of a tawny yellow. The chief source of supply was from swarms of those born in a state of slavery.”

“They came with the limited facilities of uncivilized man; when they met on our soil, they were as strange to one another as to their masters. Coming from places in Africa a thousand miles asunder, the negro emigrants to America brought with them, no common language, no abiding usages, no worship, no nationality. They were destitute of common traditions, customs, and laws and were compelled to adopt a new dialect for intercourse with each other.”

“A new problem in the history of man was now to be solved. For the first time the Ethiopian and Caucasian races were to meet together in nearly equal numbers beneath a Temperate Zone.”
—Bancroft History of the United States, Vol. 1, pp. 177, 403, 406 (1840).

The people in the United States whose ancestors came from Africa because they speak only the English language, do not become Anglo-Saxons or their descendants Caucasians.

The following excerpts are from “THE NEGRO AT HOME, an inquiry after his capacity for self government and the government of whites for controlling, leading, directing, or co-operating in the civilization of the age.” by Lindley Spring of New York, published by the author in 1868.

It is interesting to note that the right of suffrage was conferred on the negro in 1868, the year this book was published; and, it is interesting to examine the ideas expressed therein, in the light of the history of fifty years since it was published.

Whether the author was correct in his analysis is submitted to the serious consideration of students of history and to those who are molders of public opinion. Whether the theories of idealists make for human progress and stability in government can only be determined after they have been subjected to the test of actual practice and the results recorded in the pages of history.

THE NEGRO AT HOME

Caucasian and Negro; the two extremes of mankind: that, the superior, active, ruling race; this, the inferior, passive, subject race. Thus says monumental history, so far back, at least, 2300 B. C.; thus says all history and tradition, from the remotest period to the present time. Wherever, and however, the two races have been brought in contact or comparison, this testimony has been given—for ages. It stands now (1868) undisputed by a single fact, corroborated by scientific investigation and the evidence of our senses in daily experience.

Our witnesses testify furthermore that—this is no arbitrary classification of the two races, but one originating in the nature of things, and caused by specific differences of race; that—those differences are permanent, not to be effaced by time or change of climate, or modes of life; that—the Caucasian and the negro are "distinct" human beings, men whose relations to the outer world are by no means the same;" that—while circumstances may develop a higher type of the Caucasian and a modified type of the negro; yet, the Caucasian cannot become a negro, nor the negro a Caucasian, any more than the palm can become an oak, or the oak a palm—yet, of the latter, both are trees, as—of the former, both are men.

Our witnesses also testify that—intermixture of the two races is contrary to nature and the well being of man; that it brings corruption of blood and confusion; breeds a class generally short-lived and in a few generations sterile. Or half castes, in the course of a few generations, return to the black color of the maternal ancestor.

Over the extensive and varied region bounded—on the north by the Mediterranean Sea, on the south by the great Sahara, have passed ages of social and political change. It was the cradle of progress, the nursery and school of the arts and sciences, the theater of great events, and no less famous in the history of civilization than of religion. It has been occupied, successively, by the most adventurous and capable of the nations and tribes of Asia and Europe. Each, in its turn, has flourished for a time and passed away, leaving only splendid ruins, great memories, a mingled, degenerate, depraved people.

The prime cause of those melancholy transitions is well known. It was the physical, moral and social debasement engendered by an infusion of negro blood. Not by mixing equal parts of both less than that sufficed, had to suffice. Negroes in anything like equal numbers to the Caucasian were not present.

Between Central and Northern Africa was an ocean of sand, nearly a thousand miles wide, extending from the Atlantic to the Nile. Until the introduction of camels, since the Christian Era, that ocean of sand was almost as impassable as if it were of fire. The Nile was the only route by which the negro reached the civilized countries. They never came down in numbers sufficient to constitute any considerable portion of the inhabitants.

*The constitution adopted in 1851 in the State of Indiana (modern frontier of the South) provided that, "No negro or mulatto shall come into, or settle in the State after the adoption of this constitution," and that:

"All contracts made with any negro or mulatto coming into the state contrary to the provisions of the foregoing section shall be void; and any person who shall employ such negro, or mulatto, or otherwise encourage him to remain in the state, shall be fined in any sum not less than ten dollars nor more than five hundred dollars."

Under certain conditions, negro virus, like other poisons, has a power of diffusion superior to pure blood.

It is a very interesting circumstance, that, about four thousand years ago, Egypt guarded the third cataract of the Nile to prevent the influx of negroes. An inscription on the rocks near that place, has been read. It is as follows:

"Frontier of the South. Done in the VIII., under King Sesourtesen (III) ever living; in order that it may not be permitted to any negro to pass by it in navigating."*

In these latter days, have appeared those who deny the truth of the testimony concerning the negro, and the correctness of the conclusions drawn from it. They denounce experience, contradict the senses, and appeal from the judgment of Time.

They declare our classification of the races wrong, and insist that the negro is in all respects equal to the Caucasian, and is entitled to association with him, politically, morally, socially, on equal terms.

These singular pretensions were not conceived in the brain of the negro; strange to say, they boast of a purely Caucasian lineage. They are the wild or the corrupt issue of certain white men, a sort of herpetological reformer, who live remote from the objects of their passionate benevolence, and have little or no practical knowledge of them—but,

"Distance lends enchantment to the view."

They are in ecstasies over—they know not what—or—in a sense—they do.

Government and society are one thing to the negro; another thing to the Mongolian, whether Calmuck or Chinese; still another thing to the Caucasian, whether Celt, Teuton or Anglo-Saxon. Each have such as are adapted to their nature and necessities.

THE CAUCASIAN AND NEGRO

Who, and what is this Caucasian?

It is the race of action—God-like action; restless and indomitable; industrious, self-reliant, energetic, quick, audacious, enterprising, adventurous. It is the race of progress; ambitious, inquiring; full of expectations, purposes, plans; is never through, never done, never at its journey's end—but, always pressing ahead and reaching ahead.

It is—the race—of heroes, conquerors, governors, statesmen, legislators; the race of patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs; the race of thinkers, scholars, inventor, artists, teachers.

In peace and in war, all other races, and all kingdoms of the physical world do honor to its intelligent, vivid, domineering nature. He toils without ceasing, and adds continually to the great common stock of knowledge and material wealth, which constitute power, urge progress, and promote the welfare of mankind.

The Caucasian claims certain principles as the basis of all good government.

Those principles are—relative duties, relative rights: the absolute rights of life, liberty, and property; and—the greatest good of all.

It is no small matter to govern a race of Caucasians.

The white people of the South are Caucasians.

The black people of the South are negroes. We seem to have lost sight of this fact.

Which brings us to the next important inquiry; What does it mean—to give political supremacy to the negroes of the South?

It means that they are to govern that country—in all personal, social, political, and religious affairs; in all labor and business; in all private and public enterprises; in all earnings, savings and accumulations; in all

matters relating to property; in all the affairs of literature, art, and science.

It means—that they shall establish, regulate and control all government there, State, county, parish, city, town, village; that they shall make the state constitutions, fill the legislative, executive and judicial departments; it means—that they shall grant all charters and other acts of public and private incorporation; determine the choice and qualifications of mayors, aldermen, selectmen, overseers of public roads and bridges, justices of peace, chiefs of police, policemen; all directors and teachers of public schools, all administrators, and managers of colleges, hospitals, poor houses and other public institutions.

It means that they shall make all the laws and provide for the administration thereof; the laws defining and punishing crime; the laws regulating domestic, social, and political existence; such as the law governing citizenship—the law of husband and wife, parent and child and ward, master and servant or apprentice; the law of divorce; the law to encourage industry and enterprise in agriculture, trade and commerce; as, in matters of hiring and letting, wages, partnership, bargain and sale, guaranty, warranty, pledge, hypothecation, affreightment, insurance, agency, mandate; the law of real estate; the law of things, and the modifications of property; the law prescribing how property may be acquired and therein—of public and private acts, records, prescriptions; inheritances, and the distribution of estates; the laws of landlord and tenant, debtor and creditor, insolvency, and therein of the various sorts of obligations and their consequences.

It means that they shall make all police and health regulations; determine the choice of all judges, sheriffs, and other judicial officers; constitute all juries and control the administration of justice between man and man; that they shall impose all taxes and raise revenues; say, what shall be done with the one, who, and in what proportions must pay the other; and,

Finally, as concerning the general government; it means that they are to choose senators and representatives to Congress; in which body, as, also, in all general conventions and elections they will have a deciding voice, hold the balance of power.

Is the negro fit for it?

Is he fit to have political supremacy over the white men of this country—over white men anywhere?

Is he fit to administer the civilization of this age, control its material, political, and religious interests?

Those who seek to give him such power—do they well or ill—are they the friends or the enemies of their country, the friends or the enemies of the human race?

That we may answer such questions advisedly, let us, if we can, find out what the negro has ever done for himself; what he is at home—as an individual—as a member of society, sustaining the relations of husband, parent, child, brother, friend, citizen, legislator, governor, judge, and the like; what his notions of labor, production, agriculture, trade, commerce, manufactures, arts, science, society, civilization, government, law, religion, morals; what, take him all in all, he has ever done for his own race and country; and what, in his own country, civilization and religion have ever been able to make out of him, or do with him.

This proposition is met with murmurs of dissent.

"It is not fair!" Why not fair?

"The negro never had our advantages—he never was civilized!" Ah, who civilized us?

AN EQUAL START

Both races started at the same time, under equal outward conditions. Every external advantage the Caucasian had, the negro had; the same sun, earth, air, fire, water and their products.

So far back, at least, as the period of monumental history, the highest civilizations and systems of religion, which from age to age prevailed, were established on the Continent of Africa, in the immediate presence or neighborhood of the negro. They failed to make any salutary impression on him. His mental faculties refused to grasp the ideas they suggested. His moral sense could not reflect their image or appreciate their virtues.

If the negro never was civilized, the fault is not in us. If he never had our advantages, the fault, incapacity—call it what you will—is in him.

With civilization on all sides pressing him, the African continues stationary, nor has he ever made a step of progress beyond what was absolutely necessary to a rude and savage existence. He is no better off now than he always has been; there are—the same low, conical, windowless hut, with a ground entrance about two feet high, the same jargon, habits, customs, utensils, everything. He has never put up a sawmill or sawed a stick of timber; or a grist mill, or any other kind of mill. Nor has he sunk a mine, opened a quarry, hewed out a piece of stone, or maintained any commerce other than a rude barter of spontaneous products and slaves, for beads, rum, red flannel and the like.

For ages the wind has curled the broad surface of those lakes, and sent the sound of tumbling surf to his ears; yet, not all that boundless watery horizon; nor dim, distant view of wished-for shore; nor favoring gale, could rouse him to a nautical suggestion beyond the primitive canoe and paddle. No keel ever plowed their waters; nor, till Baker, on Lake Albert, spread his Scotch plaid to the breeze, had bellying sail been seen. The restless sea rolls over sandy beach or breaks against bold bluff; and not the creak of mast, or block, or spar, or shrill boatswain's call, or any sound, from ship to shore, challenges its idle sway, mingle with the music of its roar.

How the negro has lived so many ages without advancing seems marvelous, when all the countries surrounding Africa are so forward in comparison.

Africa still presents a comparative blank on the map, as well as in the history, of the world.

We find these people, of all shades, from jet black to tallow color; differing in stature, from the shriveled dwarf of four feet two, to the very satisfactory height of six feet two.

But worse than childishness is his premature senility. With him, nature appears to have finished where, with other races, she has scarcely begun. Mentally, morally, he is at his best when a child, and grows no more. He seems to be held within very contracted limits, without the ability or the inclination to enlarge them.

The black man is a curious anomaly, the good and bad points of human nature bursting forth without any arrangement, like the flowers and thorns of his own wilderness. A creature of impulse, seldom actuated by reflection, the black man astounds by his complete obtuseness, and as suddenly confounds you by an expression of sympathy. "From a long experience with African savages," says Sir Samuel Baker, "I think it is as absurd to condemn the negro in toto as it is preposterous to compare his intellectual capacity with that of the white man."

"So great a difference of opinion has ever existed upon the intrinsic value of the negro, that the very perplexity of the question is a proof that he is altogether a distinct variety."

In the great system of creation that divided races and subdivided them according to mysterious laws, apportioning special qualities to each, the varieties of the human race exhibit certain characters and qualifications which adapt them for specific localities. The natural character of those races will not alter with a change of locality, but the instincts of each race will be developed in any country where they may be located. Thus, the English are as English in Australia, India, and America as they are in England, and in every locality they exhibit the industry and energy of their native land; even so the African will remain negro in all his natural instincts, although transplanted to other soils; and those natural instincts being a love of idleness and savagedom, he will assuredly relapse into an idle and savage state, unless specially governed and forced to industry.

In his limited horizon he is himself the important object, and as a sequence to his self-conceit, he imagines that the whole world is at issue concerning the black man. The negro, therefore, being the important question, must be an important person, and he conducts himself accordingly. Upon this point his natural character exhibits itself most determinedly.

The negro was originally imported as a slave to fulfill the conditions of a laborer. In his own country he was a wild savage and enslaved his brother man; he thus became a victim to his own system, to the institution of slavery that is indigenous to the soil of Africa, and that has not been taught to the African by the white

man, as is currently reported, but that has ever been the peculiar characteristic of African tribes.

Under peculiar guidance, and subject to a certain restraint, the negro may be an important and most useful being; but if treated as an Englishman, he will affect the vices but none of the virtues of civilization, and his natural good qualities will be lost in his attempts to become a white man.

The natives not only are ignorant of writing, but they are without traditions; thus THERE IS NO CLEW TO THE DISTANT PAST, HISTORY HAS NO EXISTENCE.

Bearing in mind that these excerpts from "The Negro at Home" were written in 1868, the reader should examine the history of the South from 1868 to 1878 and then reread these excerpts.

Practically all the written history of the negro race has been made in America during the last three hundred years.

If the negro has failed to meet the Anglo-Saxon standards of government in America he should not be criticised.

Criticism should be directed toward the Anglo-Saxons who have so foolishly misled both the negro and the Anglo-Saxon to believe that "equality" meant equality in mental attainments, and that it meant equal racial capacity with the Anglo-Saxon "to teach, to obey and to command."

"LET IT NEVER BE FORGOTTEN THAT THESE ANGLO-SAXON INSTITUTIONS ARE OURS IN TRUST; WE HOLD THEM FOR A THOUSAND GENERATIONS YET TO EMERGE FROM THE STREAM OF TIME. THEY ARE SACRED HEIRLOOMS, CONFIDED TO OUR KEEPING FOR THOSE WHO ARE TO COME AFTER US—AND IF WE ALLOW THEM TO BE IMPAIRED OR SULLIED, WHILE PASSING THROUGH OUR HANDS, WE ARE GUILTY OF A DOUBLE CRIME; WE ARE TRAITORS ALIKE TO OUR FATHERS AND TO OUR POSTERITY."

SARGENT S. PRENTISS

Born in Maine, and from early manhood a citizen of Mississippi, a Whig Senator

“I ASK THAT WE IN
THIS GENERATION
PROVE OURSELVES
THE SPIRITUAL
HEIRS BOTH OF THE
MEN WHO WORE
THE BLUE AND OF
THE MEN WHO
WORE THE GRAY.”

THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Speech at Kansas City
May 30th, 1918

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